G. Washington

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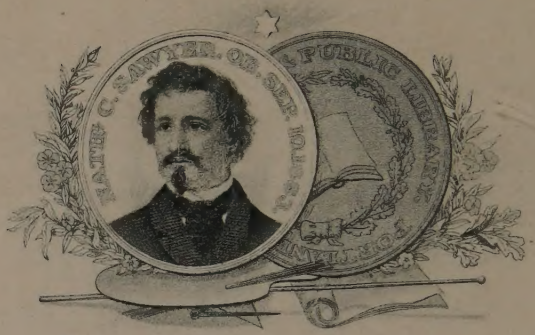

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WASHINGTON

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Washington

By JOSEPH DILLAWAY SAWYER
Author of *History of the Pilgrims & Puritans : Their Ancestry & Descendants*

In Two Volumes
Profusely Illustrated.
VOLUME TWO

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WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON

VOLUME II

CHAPTER XXX

A BREATHING-SPELL FOR THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. MOUNT VERNON DURING THE MASTER'S ABSENCE. THE VEXATIOUS MONEY QUESTION. ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. "MAD ANTHONY" WAYNE RECAPTURES STONY POINT. WASHINGTON'S DIFFICULT SITUATION. COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU BRINGS TROOPS FROM FRANCE. LORD NORTH'S CONCILIATORY BILLS. THE FALL OF CHARLESTON

AT THE close of the year 1778, and at the dawning of the year 1779, the Washingtons were in Philadelphia as guests of Henry Laurens, president of Congress. The legislative body, which had assembled in Baltimore during the British occupation of Philadelphia, had returned to its old quarters in Independence Hall shortly after the evacuation. In this visit to the Quaker City Washington was combining business with pleasure—with considerably more of the former than of the latter, according to his own account:

> "While in Philadelphia, what between Congress and a Special Committee of that body, I was furnished with ample employment. I had few moments of relaxation."

It was the General's first breathing-spell since taking command of the army, and the *Pennsylvania Packet*, in its issue of the second of February, comments on this, saying:

> "He had been honored with every mark of esteem which his exalted qualities as a gentleman and a citizen entitled him to."

Henry Laurens, president of Congress. *Chappel.*

Nevertheless, the General was impatient to rejoin his army, which was then encamped at Middlebrook; but Congress, with surprising lack of consideration, kept him so much under heel that he was obliged to make a special request that he be permitted to return to his command. Truly a humiliating position for a man of Washington's achievements and character!

A letter written while in Philadelphia to Lord Stirling[1] indicates that the subject of munitions was very much to the fore. It indicates, too, that Washington held in some esteem the nobleman who had fought so bravely with the Continentals in the tragic battle of Long Island.[2] Its stilted and somewhat obsequious phraseology is easily explicable in the light of the punctilio peculiar to the times.

In February of that year General Knox gave a ball at Pluckamin to celebrate the first anniversary of the French alliance with America. Weary as the Commander-in-Chief must have been, one may be sure that he enjoyed that ball. He was very fond of dancing. A feature of the occasion was the firing of a salute of sixteen guns in honor of King Louis XVI—poor Louis Capet, who was soon to lose his throne and his head in the French Reign of Terror.

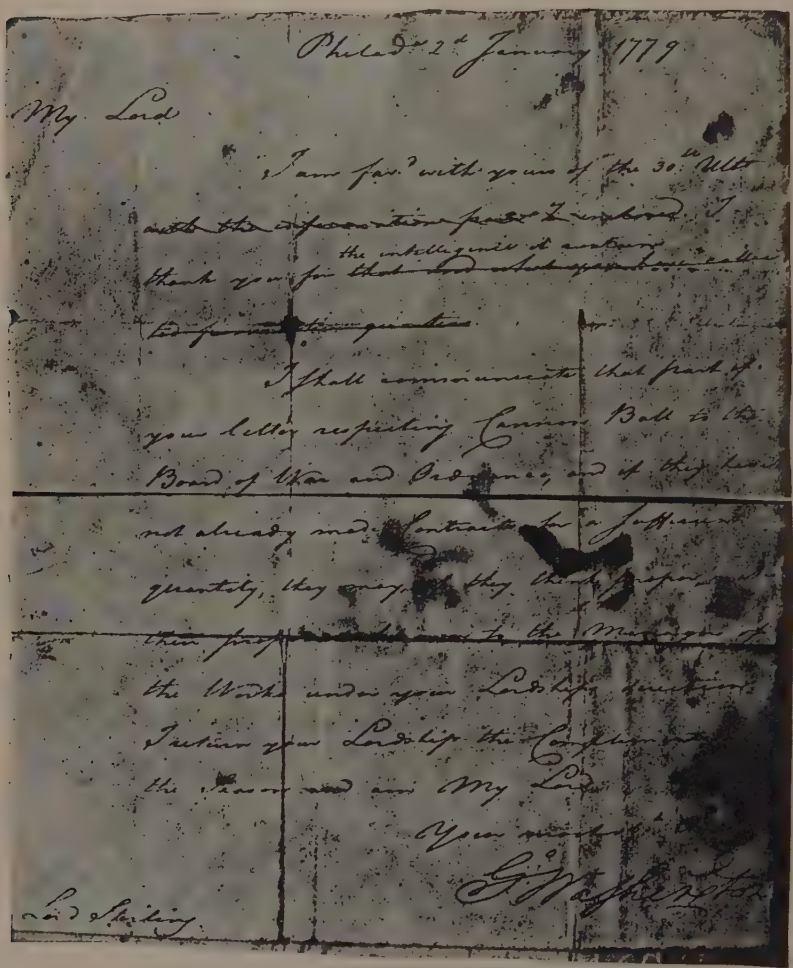
During these long years of service and self-sacrifice at the head of the army, Washington had kept in close touch with home affairs at Mount Vernon. At the time of his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Army his Virginia estate was in a highly flourishing condition and yearly increasing in value. There were nearly two hundred slaves then on the place, under the control of a number of overseers;[3]

[1] See facsimile on page 4.

[2] General William Alexander (known as Lord Stirling, though he never accepted the Scotch title) was captured in that engagement, as also was General Sullivan (see Vol. I, p. 469). Both generals were exchanged, Stirling immediately.

[3] Washington always referred to his colored servitors as "My people." Many of the slaves belonged to Mrs. Washington, being "dower slaves" from the Custis estate, and were brought by her to Mount Vernon at the time of her marriage to George Washington.

these, in turn, being under the direct supervision of the Master. The farms had never been more in need of their


Phila. 2d January 1779

My Lord

I am favd with your of the 30th Ult

with the [illegible] I ordered. I

the intelligence it contains

thank you for that [illegible]

[illegible]

I shall communicate that part of

your letter respecting Cannon Ball to the

Board of War and Ordnance and if they have

not already made Contracts for a sufficient

quantity, they may [illegible] they think proper

[illegible] to the Manager of

the Works under your Lordship's direction.

I return your Lordship the Compliments

the Season and am My Lord

Your most [illegible]

G. Washington

Lord Stirling

Letter from Washington to Lord Stirling.

owner's vigilant eye and resourceful brain. But at the call of Duty, Washington the Virginia squire, merging into Washington the patriot, had left everything without an

hour's delay—to assume an arduous and heart-breaking task which promised nothing.

In charge of the Mount Vernon estate he left his nephew, Lund Washington, who, with his wife, lived at the Manor House. But Washington, though absent and with a thousand urgent matters pressing upon his time and attention, forgot neither farm affairs nor his obligations to dependents. From the Cambridge camp, in the autumn of 1775, he thus instructed his nephew, Lund, in regard to the hospitalities of the Manor:

> "Let the hospitality, with respect to the poor, be kept up; let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in need of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness. I have no objection to your giving my money to charity, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed."

Mount Vernon, however, was an extensive property to oversee, even with competent assistance; and the slaves—who comprised practically all the available help in those days, when every white man who could be spared was in the army—were far from competent. It is not surprising, therefore, that during his prolonged absence from home Washington was occasionally the prey of dishonest sub-overseers; some thieving outright, others indirectly, in slackening of effort. But the Master of Mount Vernon, even amid the encroachments of war duties, contrived somehow to send a weekly letter of sixteen pages or so to overseers of his plantations, apportioning certain duties to certain servants—whom he mentioned by name—and planning the planting to be done in specified fields, as well as the work in various farm industries, with as much thoroughness as though actually on the spot.

Washington, like others, was hard hit by the depre-

ciation in the value of Continental money. He was, probably, hit harder than most; for he had an expensive establishment to maintain, with many dependents, who—being part of the property—could not be gotten rid of. On the twelfth of October, 1778, he had written to his stepson, Jack Custis, with reference to exchanging valuable real estate for paper money of fluctuating value:

> "Four hundred pounds in paper dollars now is, and I suppose at time of parting with this dollar may be, worth one hundred pounds in specie; but two years hence one hundred pounds in specie will be worth, and will fetch, one thousand pounds of paper."

Evidently Washington was not optimistic as to the financial future of the States.

Jack Custis, with increasing family cares,[1] was perplexed as to the handling of his estate in those times of stringency. Having written to his step-father as to an exchange of properties, he received from Washington a reply which revealed keen business sense, influenced neither by family relationship nor personal feeling:

> "In the present fluctuating state of things, there is one thing which justice to yourself and your mother requires me to condition for, and that is that the rent stipulated for shall have some relative value to secure an equivalent for the land and slaves; otherwise, as the lease will be an absolute conveyance of the estate from your mother and me, we may, at the end of a few years, if paper money continues to depreciate, get nothing for it. I do not mean by this that I am unwilling to receive paper money; on the contrary, I shall with cheerfulness

[1] John Parke Custis was now the father of two little girls—Elizabeth Parke Custis, born August 21, 1776, and Martha Parke Custis, born December 31, 1777. Eleanor Parke Custis (the lovely and beloved Nelly Custis, who comes into the Mount Vernon picture later) was born March 21, 1779; and George Washington Parke Custis, Jack's only son, was born in April, 1781, six months before his father's death.

receive payment in anything that has currency at the time, but of equal value then to the intrinsic worth at the time of fixing the rent."

In the army and out of it, the low purchasing value of Continental money was a source of grave concern throughout the Revolutionary War; and especially to General Washington, who knew—better than most—how essential money was to a victorious outcome. In the latter part of April, 1779, he wrote of this to the president of Congress:

"Is there anything doing, or that can be done, to restore the credit of our money? The depreciation of it has gone to so alarming a point that a wagon-load of money will scarcely purchase a wagon-load of provisions."

Later, he again wrote to Henry Laurens, when American Minister in Paris, on the same subject:

"I give it decisively as my opinion that without a foreign loan our present force, which is but the remnant of an army, cannot be kept together this campaign, much less will it be increased and in readiness for another. . . . We cannot transport provisions from the States in which they are assessed, to the army, because we cannot afford to pay the teamsters."

On the fifteenth of July, 1779, "Mad Anthony" Wayne distinguished himself at Stony Point, on the Hudson, some forty miles from New York. The fort at the Point was in the hands of the British, and Washington, who needed it for the fulfilment of his plans, asked Wayne if he could recapture it. Wayne's reply was brief and emphatic; being, in substance:

"With you to plan the campaign, General, I can capture hell!"

Wayne led his men up the steep hill with unloaded guns, bayoneting their way into the fort. Though wounded, he

staggered on at the head of his force, as they leaped the parapets and seized a hard-won victory. The capture of the fort at Stony Point was one of the most desperate hand-to-

Anthony Wayne, the fighting dude of the Continental Army. *Chappel.*

hand engagements of the war, in this respect matching the battle of King's Mountain.

The Articles of Confederation, which had been adopted by Congress on the fifteenth of November, 1777, came up for signature in the summer of 1778. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Virginia and South Carolina signed on the ninth of July;

1. View of Stony Point.
2. Recapture of Stony Point, by Anthony Wayne, July 15, 1778. © *Charles Scribner's Sons.*

North Carolina on the twenty-first, and Georgia on the twenty-fourth of the same month. New Jersey signed on the twenty-sixth of November. Delaware did not sign until the spring of 1779; and the Articles were not completely ratified until the first of March, 1781.

It was distinctly unfortunate for military affairs that the States were not in complete accord, and that each State stood upon its rights; for because of these conditions Congress could not assume supreme command. The dilatoriness on the part of the legislative body—that dilatoriness which had given Washington so much vexation in the past, and was to give him more in the future—was largely due to the fact that Congress could actually do little more than advise and argue. It had practically no control over the militia, which, as a rule, enlisted only for the short-term service that the Commander-in-Chief found so exasperating, and was even then at the beck and call of the respective States which had contributed it.[1] The time came, inevitably, at last, when Congress—to end an intolerable situation—made Washington a dictator. Without any form of vested authority other than this unconstitutional order, Washington—making the most of the opportunity—seized bit and rein, and rode roughshod over all State rights. The very arrogance of the act accomplished the desired result, holding in line militia

[1] This state of affairs prevailed when Washington, facing discouraging conditions in the South (see page 20), wrote to a friend in Congress in this pessimistic strain:

> "I see one head gradually changing into thirteen; one army branching into thirteen; which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, are considering themselves as dependent on their respective States."

Again, writing to John Rogers Clark, who was in the West, doing yeoman service which finally resulted in the Government's acquisition of enormous areas of land, he said:

> "It is out of my power to send any reinforcements to the westward. If the States would fill their Continental battalions, we should be able to oppose a regular and permanent force to the enemy in every quarter. If they will not, they must certainly take measures to defend themselves by their militia, however expensive and ruinous the system."

troops that would otherwise have skulked home at the end of the enlistment period, leaving the army in shreds—as they occasionally did, in spite of all precautions.

In framing this momentous Resolution, Congress swung from showering insults on the Commander-in-Chief to crowning him with laurels of adulation:

> "This Congress, having maturely considered this present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigor and uprightness of General Washington, do hereby resolve that General Washington shall be, and hereby is, vested with full, ample and complete powers to raise and collect together in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry . . . establish pay . . . displace and appoint all officers, protect supplies, arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the Continental currency, etc."

The man of ordinary calibre would have resented this shifting of responsibility to his shoulders without the wherewithal to make good; but Washington was of finer mould. His personal feelings were never permitted to stand in the way of his obvious duty.

> "I know the unhappy predicament I stand in," he wrote at this time; "I know that much is expected of me; I know that without men, without arms, without ammunition, without anything fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done. . . . My own situation feels so irksome to me at times, that if I did not consult the public good rather than my own tranquillity I should, long ere this, have put everything to the cast of a die. . . .
>
> "Your letter . . . descriptive of the jealousies and uneasiness which exist among the members of Congress, is really alarming. If the house is divided, the fabric must fall."

There had been a day when a messenger from Washington's camp had carried to Congress a despatch which had been wrung from the depths of the Commander's agonized soul. In ten days, it said, there would be no Continental Army, so large had been the number of desertions. This was one of the blackest hours of Washington's career; when, appalled at the ingratitude which encompassed him, he wrote his resignation under stress of mental anguish. He carried it with him when he met his officers in conference. But General Knox sprang to his feet, exclaiming:

Penknife carried by Washington for fifty-five years, presented by his mother.

"You were commanded to lead this army, and no one has ordered you to cease leading it!"

The arrogant remark took Washington by storm. But it had the desired effect. The resignation was destroyed.

General Knox, who had long been Washington's friend and gauged well his commanding officer's character, knew that he always carried with him a pearl-handled pocket-knife which his mother had given him in his boyhood, saying:

"Always obey your superiors, my son!"

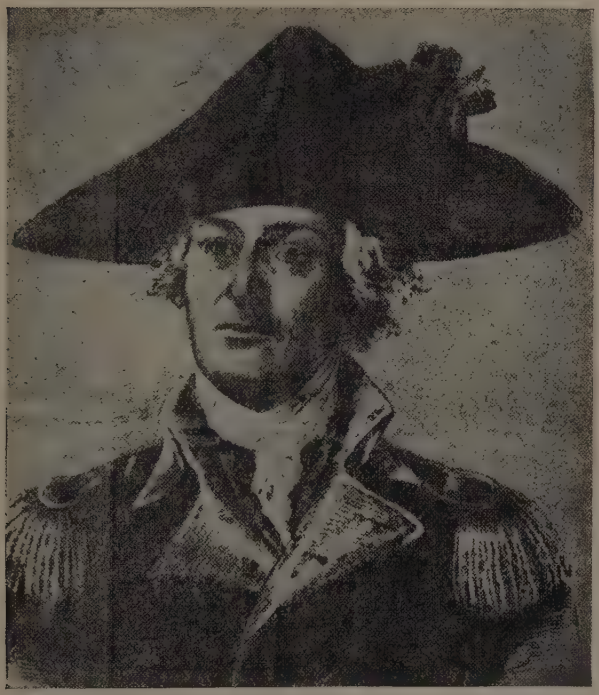
He reminded the General of his mother's words. Washington bowed his head in thought. The incident was closed.[1]

With so little unanimity among the men who, by right of their position in Congress, held such tight rein over his actions,—and who were given to nagging him at inopportune times,—it is not surprising that Washington was anxious that

[1] It is said that the knife was ordered from England by Washington's mother, and was given to him by way of consolation when, at her request, he gave up the idea of a navy career. (See Vol. I, p. 95.) He carried the knife constantly for fifty-two years—as long as life lasted. It is now one of the most treasured relics of General Washington in the possession of Alexandria-Washington Masonic Lodge, Alexandria, Virginia.

only men of the finest type should be chosen as delegates to Congress. In 1779 we find him writing to Governor Thomas Nelson, of Virginia:

"It gives me very singular pleasure to find you have again taken a seat in Congress. I think there never was a time when cool and dispassionate reasoning, staid



Colonel Robert H. Harrison. *After John Trumbull.*

attention and application, great integrity and—if it were in the nature of things—unerring wisdom, were more to be wished for than at present."

Washington wrote to Colonel Harrison, Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, urging the importance of

sending only the ablest and best men to Congress. He had good reason to write thus plainly:

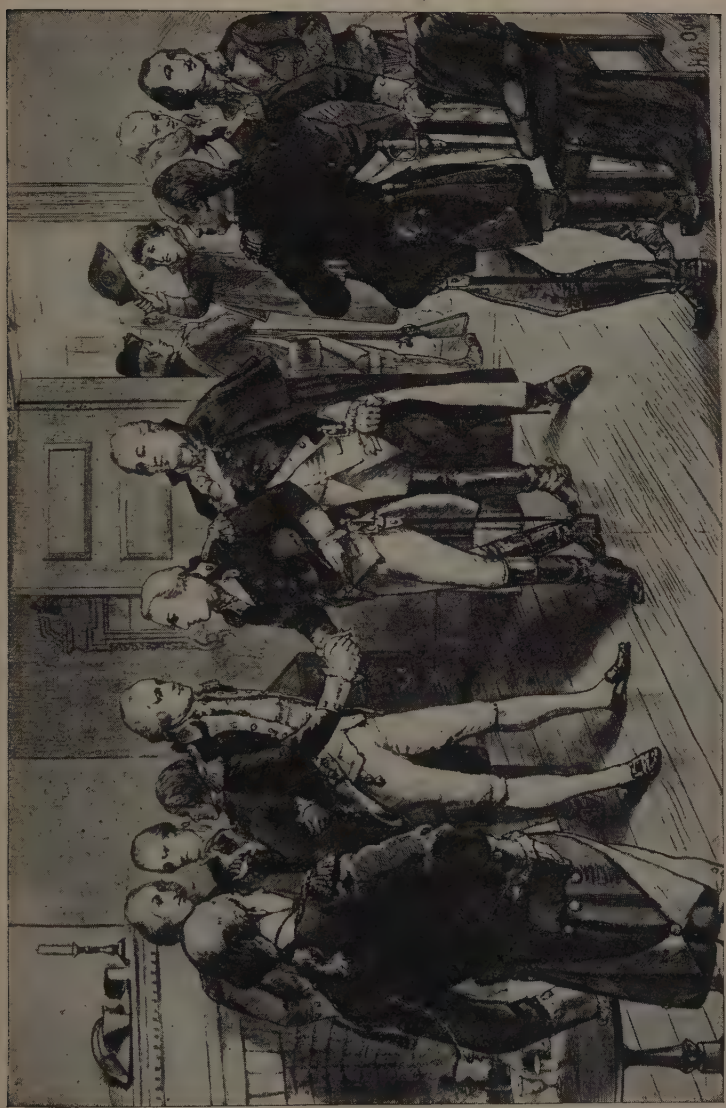
> "They must not content themselves with the enjoyment of places of honor or profit in their own State, while the common interests of America are moldering and sinking into irretrievable ruin."

Those were soul-racking years in the life of George Washington, and it is to the deathless credit of the man that he never deviated by a hair's-breadth from the path he had mapped out at the beginning of the war—the path that was to lead to ultimate victory. He held no other thought. America *must* be victorious—though it cost him all he had, and his life with it; which it very nearly did. When Lord North was busily introducing his Conciliatory Bills, passed March, 1778, granting everything asked except Independence, Washington wrote to a friend in Congress:

> "Nothing short of independence can possibly do. Peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a Peace of War. The injuries we have received from the British nation were so unprovoked and have been so great and so many that they can never be forgotten."

Washington probably met and conquered greater difficulties than any other great military commander in the world's history, but held his faith to the end. In a letter to General Armstrong in 1781, when victory was nearer than it seemed, he expressed belief, as he had done many times before, in "a divinity that shapes our ends":

> "The many interpositions of Divine Government in hours of our deepest distress and darkness have been too numerous to suffer me to doubt the happy issue of the present contest; but the period for its accomplishment may be too far distant for a person of my years, whose morning and evening hours, and every moment,



Washington receiving birthday congratulations at Morristown, February 22, 1780. *H. A. Ogden.*
© Jones Bros. Pub. Co.

pant for retirement and for those domestic and rural enjoyments which, in my estimation, far surpass the pageantry of this world."

Washington had still a long and weary stretch of road ahead.

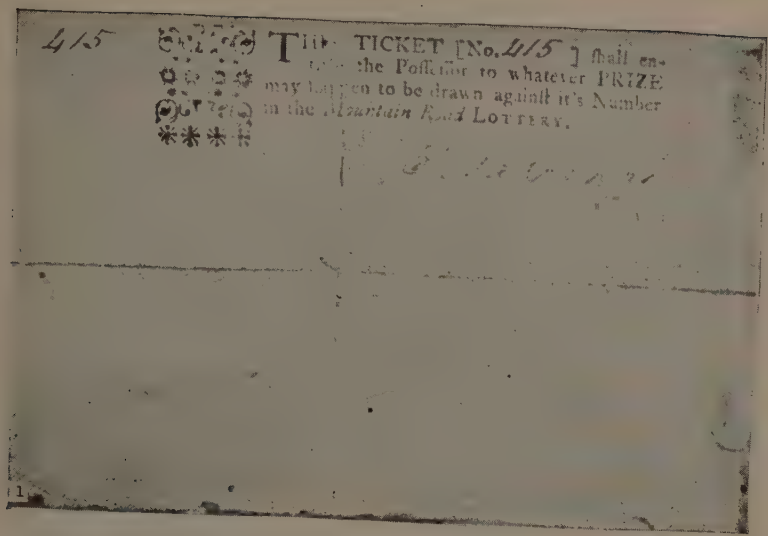
The winter of 1779-1780 found the main body of the Continental Army again in camp at Morristown, with General Washington in residence at Headquarters.[1] It was a severe winter,—all the winters were severe during that eight-year struggle,—and the sufferings of the troops were hardly less acute than they had been two years before at Valley Forge. Early in the New Year (1780) there was a heavy fall of snow, with drifts that were six feet deep, accompanied by intense cold. On the eighth of January Washington wrote to the New Jersey authorities concerning the wretched condition of his troops:

> "The present situation of the army, with respect to provisions, is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the war. For a fortnight past, the troops—both officers and men—have been almost perishing with want, yet they have borne their sufferings with a fortitude that merits the approbation, and ought to excite the sympathies, of their countrymen."

There were contrasts, however. On his birthday, the twenty-second of February, General Washington received the congratulations of his officers, as usual, at Headquarters —the tried and true, as well as those who needed only the opportunity to be guilty of the blackest treachery. Arnold was among the latter—at present unsuspected, but doubtless using eyes and ears in the interests of his friends, the enemy.

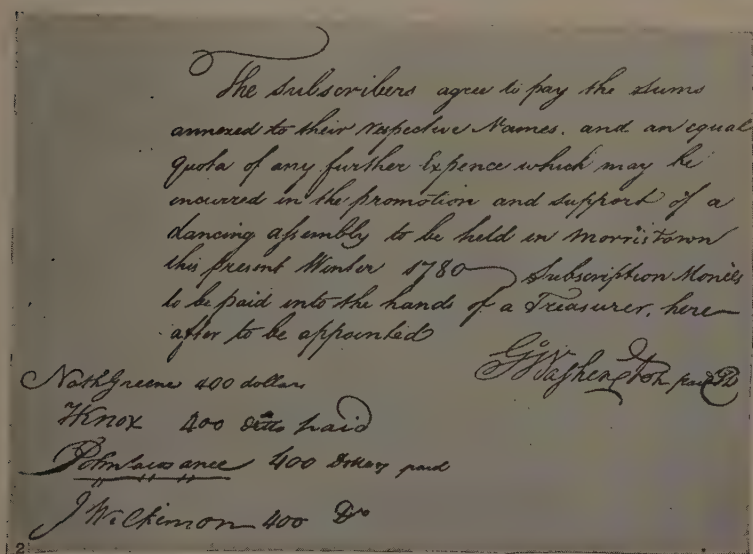
A subscription Dancing Assembly was promoted by

[1] The Colonel Jacob Ford House, on view to visitors.



415 THE TICKET [No. 415] shall entitle the Possessor to whatever PRIZE may happen to be drawn against it's Number in the Mountain Road LOTTERY.

1



The Subscribers agree to pay the sums annexed to their respective Names, and an equal quota of any further expence which may be incurred in the promotion and support of a dancing assembly to be held in Morristown this present Winter 1780 — Subscription Monies to be paid into the hands of a Treasurer, hereafter to be appointed

G Washington for self

Nath Greene 400 dollars
H Knox 400 ditto paid
Pennsylvania 400 dittos paid
J Wilkinson 400 do

2

Dancing agreement and lottery ticket signed by Washington.

General Washington and some of his officers during that winter of 1780;[1] and in this favored form of recreation—in which, presumably, the ladies of Morristown, as well as the officers' wives and sweethearts, participated—some otherwise dull hours of enforced inaction were spent pleasantly enough. But this enjoyment, in so far as Washington was concerned, was on the surface only; in the back of his mind, at all times, were the great problems which he alone faced in their entirety, and which he alone could solve.

In the spring of that year of 1780 the Marquis de Lafayette, who had returned to his native France for rest and recuperation, his wound at Brandywine being healed, again set foot on American soil. Upon receiving from his young friend the tidings of his arrival at Boston, Washington wrote him a warmly welcoming letter:

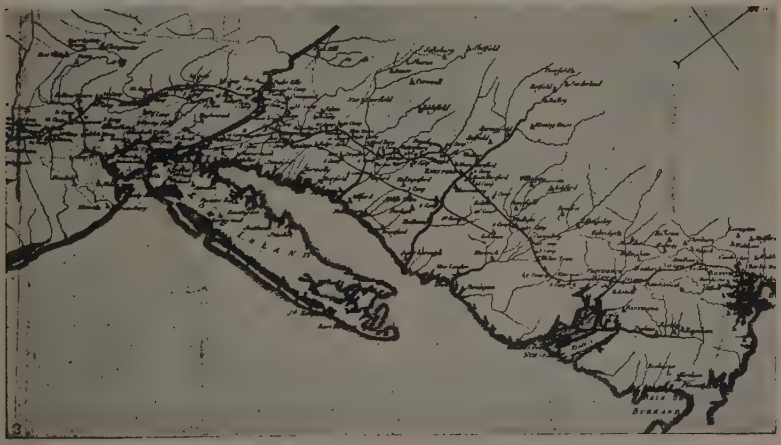
> "I received your letter with all the joy that the sincerest friendship could dictate, and with that impatience which an ardent desire to see you could not fail to inspire. . . .
>
> "I most sincerely congratulate you on your safe arrival in America, and shall embrace you with all the warmth of an affectionate friend when you come to Headquarters, where a bed is prepared for you."

Lafayette brought with him the reassuring news that the French government had agreed to send another fleet to America, with troops, arms, and ammunition. This was cheering news indeed for Washington, sore beset as he was. In his gratitude to the King of France, he wrote a charming and sincere letter of thanks to the Marquis de Luzerne:

> "I thank your Excellency for the agreeable intelligence you give me of His Most Christian Majesty's intentions to send over succor of arms and ammunition. It is a new and valuable proof of his friendship, and will be of essential utility."

[1] See facsimile of Agreement, signed by Washington, on page 17.

To the Count de Rochambeau and his colleague, the Count De Grasse, America owes the deepest gratitude.



1. Count Rochambeau's arrival at Newport, July 11, 1780.
2. March of French Army across New England.

Courtesy of State Street Trust Co., Boston, Mass.

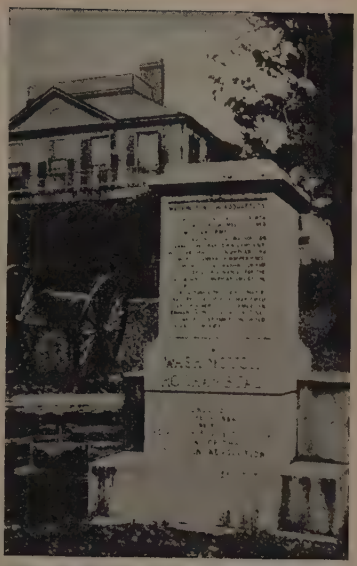
May 2, 1780—nearly two years after d'Estaing's first sailing —Admiral de Ternay set forth with six ships of the line, five

frigates, thirty-two transports, a hospital ship, and some fifty-five hundred soldiers, officered by the pride of the French army, some of whom later fought with credit under Napoleon. Landing at Newport July 10, 1780,[1] they were inactive for some eleven months, until certain of co-operation from a fourth French naval fleet, under De Grasse, when they joined Washington's "ragged Continentals" near Kingsbridge. Following General Howe's scheme when he captured Philadelphia, Washington caused the French troops to be landed at Head of Elk, and four thousand French troops and two thousand Continentals began their memorable march through Philadelphia southward to York peninsula. De Grasse engaged the British fleet off the Capes until de Barras, who brought from Newport ample supplies and munitions, was able to slip into Yorktown harbor. De Grasse had twenty-eight ships of the line and six frigates. On September 18 Washington and his officers visited De Grasse's flagship, the *Ville de Paris*, and planned the battle which resulted in the capture of Yorktown, in whose siege Washington fired the first gun, October 9, 1781.

In the meantime, however, Charleston, South Carolina, had been captured by the British, May 12, 1780, after a courageous but futile defence. Earlier in the year, Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander,—possessed with the idea that the South was full of royalists, and determined to take them into the fold,—had launched his Southern campaign, firmly resolved that nothing should prevent his capturing Charleston, which had been unsuccessfully besieged by General Prevost in the spring of 1779.

General Lincoln, commanding the Continentals in that city, and advised of Clinton's plans by the "underground route," had done all that was humanly possible, with the

[1] It was a great day when the three generals, Washington, Lafayette, and Knox, met Rochambeau in Hartford in the Peleg Wadsworth house, September 21, 1780. Here was held that first war conference that led to victory.



1. Count Jean Baptiste Rochambeau.
2. Washington's Dobbs Ferry headquarters, where he met Rochambeau.
3. Tomb of Rochambeau. *Courtesy of State Street Trust Co., Boston, Mass.*
4. Landing of French troops under Rochambeau.

limited force at his command, to prepare Charleston for the siege. He had strengthened the defences at the Neck, at Fort Moultrie, and at Haddrell's Point (now Mount Pleasant); but had far too small an army for the adequate manning of so extended a line. The boom thrown across the Cooper River canal blocked Admiral Arbuthnot's close approach to the rear of the city;[1] and Lincoln scuttled the American vessels (under Captain Whipple) anchored inside the boom barrier, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, thus effectually closing the mouth of the river. Nevertheless, Arbuthnot passed Fort Moultrie without serious damage, dropped anchor directly south of the city and within easy shelling distance, and from that point ruthlessly destroyed both residence and business sections with his heavy cannonading. Sir Henry Clinton, following up this advantage, landed on John's Island, crossed to James Island, and thence over the Ashley River to the neck of land above the city, doubling in a southerly direction and gaining an unassailable position from which to shell the city. The arrival of Cornwallis, with three thousand troops who seized Haddrell's Point, completed a cordon which encircled Charleston by land and sea. The result was inevitable.

Lincoln's own first judgment was to evacuate, and so save his small army to fight another day—perhaps under more promising conditions; but other counsels, supplemented by his own distaste for surrender, resulted in his taking the desperate chance of holding the city against terrific odds. Bombarded on three sides, he requested a temporary truce, but declined to capitulate on the harsh terms offered him. The siege continued, under humiliating and exasperating conditions, until the twelfth of May; when continual bombardment—lasting two months—by two hundred cannon forced the surrender of the city and of Fort Moultrie.

[1] The topography of Charleston, with the Cooper River on one side and the Ashley River on the other, is remarkably similar to that of Manhattan Island.

Showing the manœuvres in and about Charleston, S. C., that resulted in its capture. © *Ernest Peixotto.*

Sir Henry Clinton was so optimistic about what he considered the complete subjugation of the South that he wrote Lord Germain:

> "There are few men in South Carolina who are not either our prisoners or in arms with us."

Returning to that favorite residence of the British generals, New York City, he left Cornwallis to handle future operations in the South, and so considerately paved the way for the fulfilment of General Washington's campaign plan, subtly conceived, and soon to be put into memorable execution.

CHAPTER XXXI

GREENE SUPPLANTS GATES AFTER LOSING BATTLE OF CAMDEN. BATTLES OF KING'S MOUNTAIN, COWPENS, GUILFORD COURT HOUSE, EUTAW SPRINGS, AND NINETY-SIX. ASSASSINATION PLOT AGAINST WASHINGTON. ARRIVAL OF SECOND FRENCH FLEET. TREASON OF ARNOLD. WASHINGTON'S DIPLOMACY KEEPS HOWE IN NEW YORK, FORCING CORNWALLIS' SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN

THE LATE summer of 1780 brought Washington new trials. The activities of Lord Cornwallis in the South, where he kept his army busy marching, countermarching, and skirmishing in the harried States of North and South Carolina, led Congress to appoint General Gates commander of the Southern Continentals. Pickens, "Game Cock" Sumter, and "Swamp Fox" Marion were all fearless and seasoned officers, leading a soldiery ready to fight to the last gasp. In half a day any one of the three could raise a company of fifty or a thousand—and have them disappear, if necessary, in forests and marshes under the very eyes of the British. Yet Congress selected Gates to lead these hardened warriors.

He joined the army at Hillsboro, North Carolina, and lost little time in demonstrating his absolute unfitness for his post. With amazing lack of judgment, he marched his men at forced speed across country under the hot sun of a Southern August, planning to attack Cornwallis, who was encamped at Camden.[1] Exhausted by the march, however,

[1] August 15, 1780.

the militia refused to fight, and took to their heels, with Gates—on horseback—in the lead. Many of the men fled to their homes; while others, in a straggling procession, followed their leader to Charlotte, sixty miles away, leaving the brave DeKalb and his courageous Continentals to cover

Gates' defeat at Camden, August 16, 1780.

their shameful retreat. DeKalb, friend and comrade of Lafayette, lost his life as a consequence of Gates' poltroonery.

One good result came of this wretched affair, however. Congress, disgusted with Gates' incompetence and cowardice, immediately relieved him of his command and ordered an official investigation, appointing General Nathaniel Greene to succeed him.

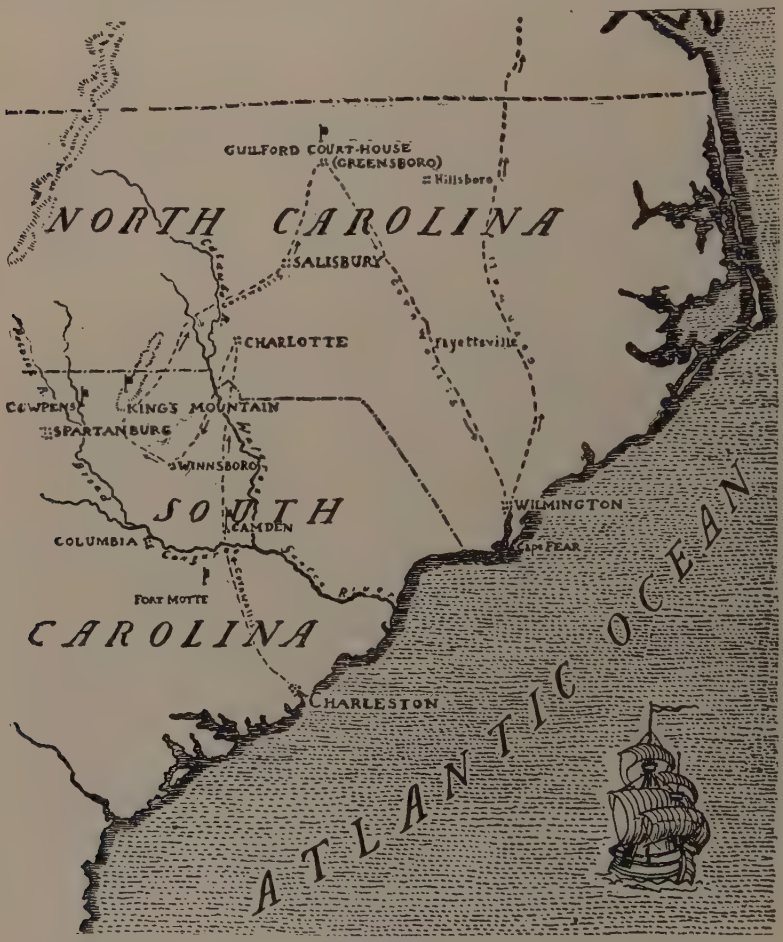
The treachery of Arnold, coming to light in September of the same year (1780), was a terrific blow to Washington. "Whom can we trust?" he ejaculated, when he discovered it.

Arnold's defection had actually begun long before—during his military governorship of Philadelphia; to which

Death of DeKalb. © *Charles Scribner's Sons. W. H. Shelton.*

office he had been appointed after the evacuation of the city by the British. His love affair with Peggy Shippen, which had flamed into existence at that time, had culminated in marriage in the spring of 1779. General Washington, who appears not to have known of the wedding until some

time afterward, was troubled when he heard of it—Mistress Peggy being pronouncedly Tory. He chided Arnold for



Map giving all details of manœuvres in North and South Carolina.
© *Ernest Peixotto.*

his impulsiveness, but could do nothing further. Overt disloyalty alone would justify more drastic action.

But Benedict Arnold was a spendthrift, and both he

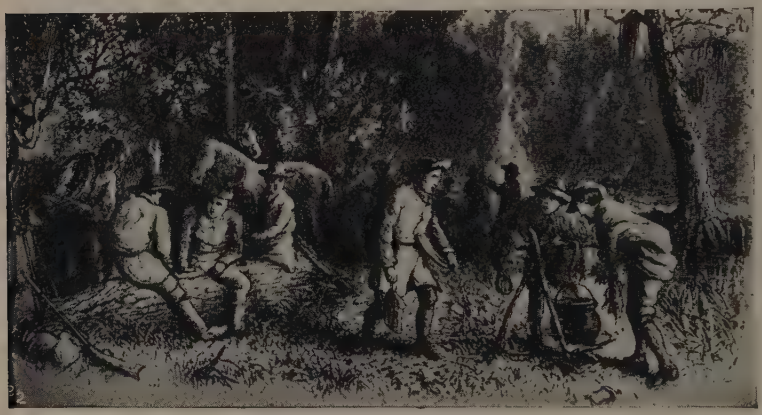
and his young wife had luxurious and expensive tastes. His office was one of trust; his extravagances led him to betray it, resulting in defalcations which could not long be concealed.

General Marion. *Chappel.*

Washington's reprimand, which the findings of the court-martial made an imperative duty, revealed more of sorrow than of anger:

> "Our profession is the chastest of all; even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the luster of our finest

achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of public favor, so hard to be acquired. I reprehend you for having forgotten that, in proportion as you have rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment toward your fellow citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will myself furnish you, as far as may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country."

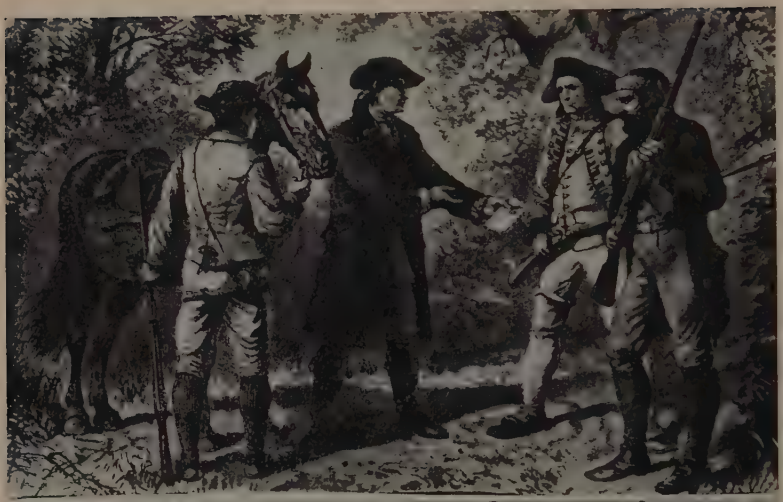


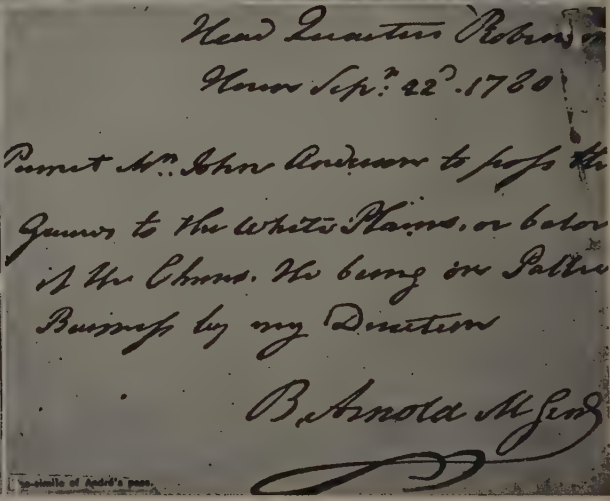
General Marion in camp.

One wonders just how much of the blame for what followed is due to Peggy Arnold. André had been her friend before he had been her husband's.

The flower of the Continental Army was stationed at West Point, the command of which Washington had entrusted to Arnold only after long and importunate pleading; Arnold, for good and sufficient reasons of his own, being extremely anxious to be stationed at this important post, which—as intimated in a previous chapter—controlled the Hudson River, the Highlands, and the surrounding country.

Marion lunching with the young English officer, who is said to have quit the service when he grasped the calibre of the American. *F. C. Yohn. Courtesy of Continental Insurance Co.*




Head Quarters Robinson's House Sept. 22d. 1780

Permit Mr. John Andreas to pass the Guards to the White Plains, or below if the Circumstances of the Country Business by my Direction

B. Arnold M. Genl

Fac-simile of André's pass.

1. Capture of André.
2. Benedict Arnold.
3. Major John André.
4. Facsimile of Arnold's pass.

Its possession, as an eminently desirable objective, had figured in the calculations of the British from the beginning of the war.

Each link of the two iron chains that were placed across the Hudson to protect West Point and the Hudson River valley weighed one hundred and fifty pounds, and was hand-forged by patriotic smithies far and near. The lower chain,

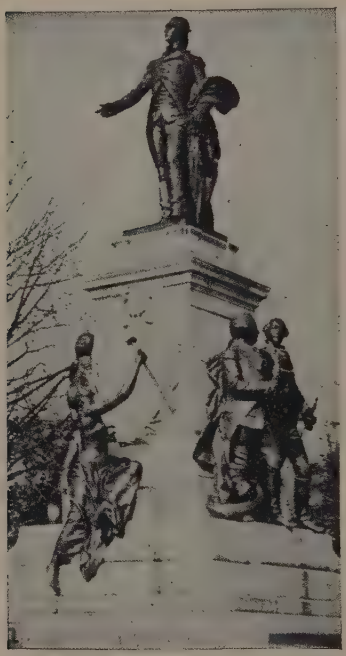
In this crude way Marion gathered the mountaineers, who ultimately drove Cornwallis from the Carolinas.

five miles south of West Point, was eighteen hundred feet long, and both were buoyed by heavy logs.

Arnold's attempt to deliver West Point to the enemy was made during Washington's absence at Hartford, Connecticut, where he was in conference with Rochambeau. On the twentieth of September Arnold and André met at the Joshua Hett Smith house, on the west bank of the Hudson (afterward known as the "treason house"), to arrange terms of sale.[1]

[1] A facsimile of André's pass, signed by Benedict Arnold, appears on page 32. Had Hale and André relied on memory, instead of notes on their persons, they might have escaped the hangman.

From Hartford, Washington journeyed direct to Arnold's headquarters. Hamilton, McHenry and Arnold were at breakfast when André's warning message was delivered to Arnold—through the carelessness, or lack of understanding,



1. Statue in Washington of Lafayette.

2. Statue of Rochambeau. Leading his troops.

of Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson. Upon reading it, Arnold at once excused himself, and, saying that he was going to West Point, left the room.

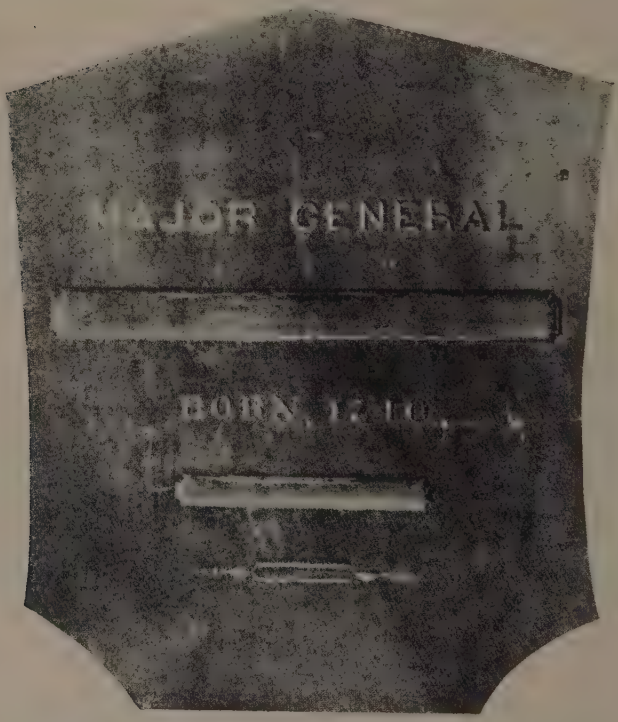
When Washington arrived, he was informed that Arnold had left for West Point. He immediately followed; but Arnold, instead, had boarded the British ship *Vulture*. In the meantime, a messenger had reached the Robinson house and delivered to Hamilton the papers captured on André, together with his confession. Informed by Hamilton

1. Washington's headquarters at Pompton, N. J.

2. Washington's headquarters at Rocky Hill, N. J., near Princeton, where he wrote his farewell orders and address to the nation.

3. Home of the Tory, Joshua Hett Smith, at Haverstraw, N. Y., known as Treason House.

Beverley Robinson House, near West Point, where Arnold lived, and where Washington learned of his treachery. It was burned in 1892.

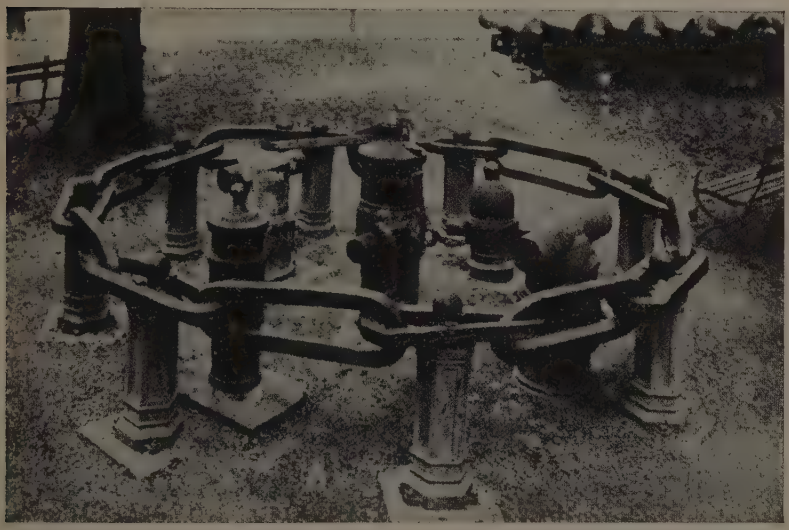


West Point's method of showing Benedict Arnold's treachery.

of Arnold's treachery, Washington wrote and despatched a brief but comprehensive command to Colonel Wade, officer-in-charge at West Point:

> "Arnold has gone to the enemy. You are in command. Be vigilant!"

Swift punishment was meted out to Major André. He requested an interview with General Washington, which was



Portion of giant chain stretched across the Hudson, near West Point, to prevent Admiral Howe's ships from sailing this waterway. See page 33. © *Ernest Peixotto.*

refused; and then requested that he be allowed to die a soldier's death. That request, too, was denied. He was hanged on the second of October, 1780—less than two weeks after the ripening of the plot.

Arnold's reward from the British for his dishonor was sixty-three hundred and fifteen pounds in cash. His wife received a pension of five hundred pounds a year, and each of his children one hundred pounds a year. For these paltry considerations Arnold terminated a valiant, if impulsive,

career; betrayed his country and his truest friend; and placed his name, for all time, on the Rogues' Roll of Infamy.[1]

A letter written by General Washington to Colonel Laurens,[2] dated Preakness, October 13, 1780, throws the light of his personal thought upon the episode:

> "But for the egregious folly or bewildered conception of Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who seemed lost in astonishment and not to have known what he was doing, I should undoubtedly have got Arnold. André has met his fate, and with that fortitude which was to be expected of an accomplished man and gallant officer."

In a later letter to Colonel Laurens, Washington writes more bitterly:

> "I am mistaken if at this time Arnold is undergoing the torment of a mental hell; he wants feeling. From some traits of his character that have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hackneyed in villainy, and so lost to all sense of honor and shame, that, while his faculties will enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse." [3]

Returning to the Southern Campaign in the autumn of 1780 Cornwallis sent Ferguson—the roughest type of guerilla

[1] The betrayal of West Point to the enemy was but one of Arnold's treacherous activities. He had previously endeavored to learn, from Washington and from Lafayette, the names of their secret service officers in New York City—for General Sir Henry Clinton.

[2] John, son of Henry Laurens, appointed an aide to Washington in 1777, was a brave soldier and a staunch friend. His influence with his father, president of Congress during the complexities following the Conway cabal in 1778, was of great value to the Commander-in-Chief. Although Washington frowned upon the practice of duelling, Laurens ignored his superior's opinion to the extent of challenging Charles Lee, defamer of Washington, and had the satisfaction of wounding him.

[3] Arnold's later expedition against his former friends and neighbors at New London, where outrageous atrocities were committed, was planned for the purpose of inducing the withdrawal of the Continental troops from the Hudson River valley, leaving this artery to Canada an open highway to the British army.

soldier—to tackle the Mountain Men of South Carolina. Ferguson placed his artillery on King's Mountain, and challenged displacement. The Mountain Men, burning

Monument to Kosciusko, erected on the parapet of Fort Clinton near West Point.

with revenge for the shocking outrages perpetrated by the British throughout South Carolina, stormed this seemingly invincible stronghold—with devastating results to the

enemy. The battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780, is recorded in history as one of the most sanguinary of the Revolution. Backwoodsmen, untrained in the science of war, fought hand to hand with the British soldiery, giving no quarter; and scarcely a man escaped them.[1] Following this rebuff, Cornwallis retreated from Charlotte to Winnsboro, while Greene entered Charlotte and there established his headquarters, placing Daniel Morgan on the border "to

Colonel William A. Washington.

General Daniel Morgan

protect the country, spirit up the people, and annoy the enemy"—a threefold task for which Morgan was particularly well fitted.

Morgan duplicated this victory on the eighteenth of January, 1781, at Cowpens, when he placed his troops with their backs to Broad River so that there could be no retreat,

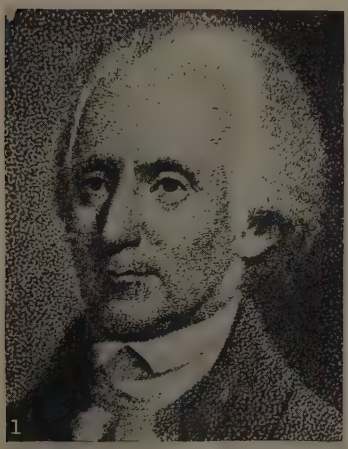
[1] The monument at King's Mountain, commemorating the battle, bears this inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
PATRIOTIC AMERICANS
WHO PARTICIPATED IN
THE BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY THEIR
GRATEFUL DESCENDANTS

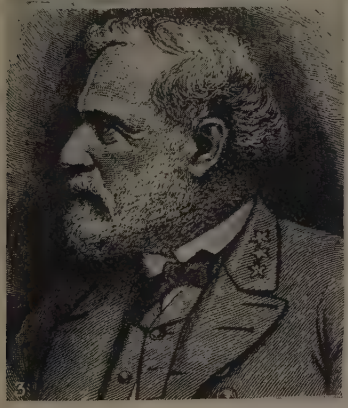
Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780.

Battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781. Complete defeat of the British.

while the regulars had orders to shoot on the spot any man who attempted to escape. A soldier to the marrow was General Daniel Morgan.



Richard Henry L



Three Lees of Virginia.[1]

1. Richard Henry Lee.
2. Henry Lee (Light Horse Harry).
3. Robert E. Lee, son of Henry Lee.
4. Light Horse Harry's dragoons.

[1] While Lee blood was hot blood — whether in the halls of Congress or on the battle-field — it was tempered with cool judgment and pronounced self-reliance.

In the battle of Cowpens "Light Horse Harry" Lee's dragoons,[1] with Colonel Howard's force and Colonel William

Harry Lee's cavalry at Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781. *Chappel.*

Washington's[2] cavalry, dashed into Tarleton's ranks amid a hail of bullets and won the day.[3]

[1] "Light Horse Harry" was the father of Robert E. Lee, afterward General Lee, Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate Army. Richard Henry Lee, a close friend of Washington, was the elder brother of Francis Lightfoot Lee. Both signed the Declaration of Independence.

[2] A family connection of General Washington's.

[3] Morgan, Howard and William A. Washington each received a Congressional medal for their heroic conduct at Cowpens.

In March, 1781, after two months of feinting, Greene and Cornwallis met at Guilford Court House. The British held the field after this battle, but sustained large losses. From this time onward the general trend was toward ultimate victory for the Americans[1] in the Carolinas.

It was while this brave fighting was going on in the South that disaster threatened the entire army in the North in the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line. Scarcity of food

Battle of Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, September 9, 1781.

and clothing, non-payment of wages, and an over-supply of whiskey—obtained, no one knew where or how—were the principal factors in this outbreak. Under the command of non-commissioned officers, the inflamed troops started for Philadelphia to lay their complaints before Congress.[2] General Anthony Wayne, ignoring threats against his life, urged the men to a saner outlook, his diplomatic handling

[1] The battle of Eutaw Springs, on the ninth of September, 1781, with the Americans victorious, was one of the final engagements. Fort Ninety-Six was held by the British to the last ditch.

[2] To avoid an encounter with a soldier mob, Congress had fled to Princeton.

103400

General Anthony Wayne crushing mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, January, 1781.
© *Jones Brothers Publishing Co.* *H. A. Ogden.*

of the matter finally relieving the situation. The climax came when the British commander sent messengers to offer terms and money; but the Continentals, though for the moment insurgents, were still patriots, and indignantly spurned the enemy advances, turning the messengers over to the General, who promptly ordered them hanged. The same fate overtook a few of the ringleaders in the mutiny;

General Greene's fight at "Ninety-Six."

and when three months' pay had somehow been raised and distributed among the men, the mutiny came to an end.[1]

A more agreeable note was struck when Count Rochambeau organized a fête at Newport in honor of General Washington's birthday and, in apprising him of it, wrote his felicitations:

> "We will celebrate it with the sole regret that your Excellency be not a witness of the effusion and gladness of our hearts."

[1] General Washington's letter to the president of Congress, informing him of the circumstances of this mutiny, is shown in facsimile on pages 48–51 and describes how Washington met an exasperating issue.

Washington's letter to Congress, January 15, 1781, from New Windsor, describing mutiny of the troops.

New Windsor Jany. 15. 1781

Sir,

The unhappy mutiny of the Non-Commd. & Private of the Pennsylvania line — the perplexed state of affairs in this quarter — the distressed condition of the Troops at West Point and in the vicinity of it, on acct. of Provision & some essential articles of Cloathing — combined with other embarrassments of less importance, have engrossed my whole time and attention, and must be offered as an apology for not complying sooner, with the order of Congress of the 1st. inst. inclosed in your Excellency's Letter of the second, relative to the expediency of removing the French Troops to Virginia.

Congress being no strangers to the blockade of the French squadron at Rhode Island, must have had in contemplation a land March of the French army to the above state. — To which the season, length of the way, badness of the roads, difficulty of transportation, and possibly want of covering in a good military position, when there — the expectation of the second division, and the arrangements which are made in consequence by the French General, might be offered as a sufficient objection by Quailing Troops against the measure. — But as Congress have been pleased to ask my opinion of the expediency of it, I think it a duty incumbent on me to add, that it is not unpreasable to the sentiments (perhaps to the orders) of the officers commanding

I shall act to the best of my judgment in a further exchange of prisoners and will carry the views of Congress into effect, as far as I shall be able. —

Proper attention has been paid to such Officers of the continental lines (who are under my immediate command) as now are, or have been prisoners with the enemy, in making the new arrangement of the Army; in which no doubt but equal care and attention will be had to those in the Eastern Army. —

I shall write to General Greene on this head — and will furnish him a copy of the resolves of the 21st of October, as the sense of Congress on this matter. —

In my last of the 6th I communicated the reasons which prevented my departure for Dumfries upon the first information received of the revolt of the Pennsylvania line; and the certainty on which my going thither, then depend — I found nothing in my utmost exertions, and all the aid I could derive from the Governor of this State, was a positive refusal to lend us the Militia now down to defend our Boundaries. — Not it was a doubtful point, tho' the Troops appeared to be quiet in this quarter, for fear they were to be depended upon in a serious and spirited attempt to quell others, whose declared intention was to seek redress of those grievances, of which they themselves participate

participated and were constantly con-
sulting — while the property of weather
in the garrison — supposing the utmost
reliance was to be had on them — without
provisions in the magazine or works —
was not less questionable. —

On the other hand, the authority
in the officers of the Pennsylvania line
over their men being at an end, and the
influence of those who remained with
them employed to no purpose, I was con-
vinced, that the unhappy precedent
they had set, and the shock which dis-
cipline had received by the revolt, would
only be increased by my appearance
among them without the means of en-
forcing obedience, the necessity of do-
ing which, for the support of military
authority, was so obvious & extreme, as to ~~not~~
tempted at almost every hazard — but to
choose for the best in such perplexing
circumstances, was not a very easy. —
Ultimately however, I determined to pre-
pare a detachment of a thousand men
and directed General St Clair (who was
at Morristown) to proceed immediately
to the Committee of Congress at Easton,
and if matters were not settled — on
their opinion, in a favourable light —
it to make the utmost arrangements
for Militia with Mr President Reed and
Governor Livingston, that, with their
assistance the detachment from hence
might be enabled to act effectually —
Thus the matter stood when a letter from the
Gen.l advised me that the business was likely
to be accommodated to mutual satisfaction —

It would be happy for us, as
favourable to the probable operations of
next Campaign, if instead of Lingering
ly upon the Supplies of this State, they, or
those of Jersey, could be held as a kind
of Reserve Magazine. —

I have this Instt. been honor
with the receipt of Your Excellency's
favor of the 6th and 5th inclosures — o
shall give the earliest attention to th
business referred to me. —

With the highest respect
I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most obed. & humble Servt.
G. Washington

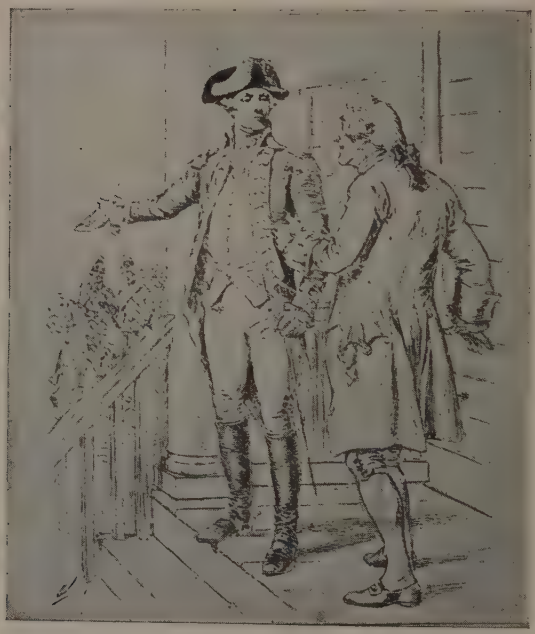
Letter from Gen. Washington
Jan. 15. 1781
Recd 23. —

His Excelly
The Pres. of Congress.

To which General Washington as gracefully replied:

"The flattering distinction paid to the anniversary of my birthday is an honor for which I dare not attempt to express my gratitude. I confide in your Excellency's sensibility to interpret my feelings for this, and for the obliging manner in which you are pleased to announce it."

Two months later, one learns, Washington was threatened with assassination—not the first nor the last time in his



The Tory entertainer who tried to arrest Washington.

public career. On the eighth of April, Washington wrote to Governor Livingston from New Windsor:

"Intelligence has been sent to me by a gentleman living near the enemy's lines, who has an opportunity

of knowing what passes among them, that four parties have been sent out with order to take or assassinate your Excellency, Governor Clinton, myself, and a fourth person, whose name is not known."

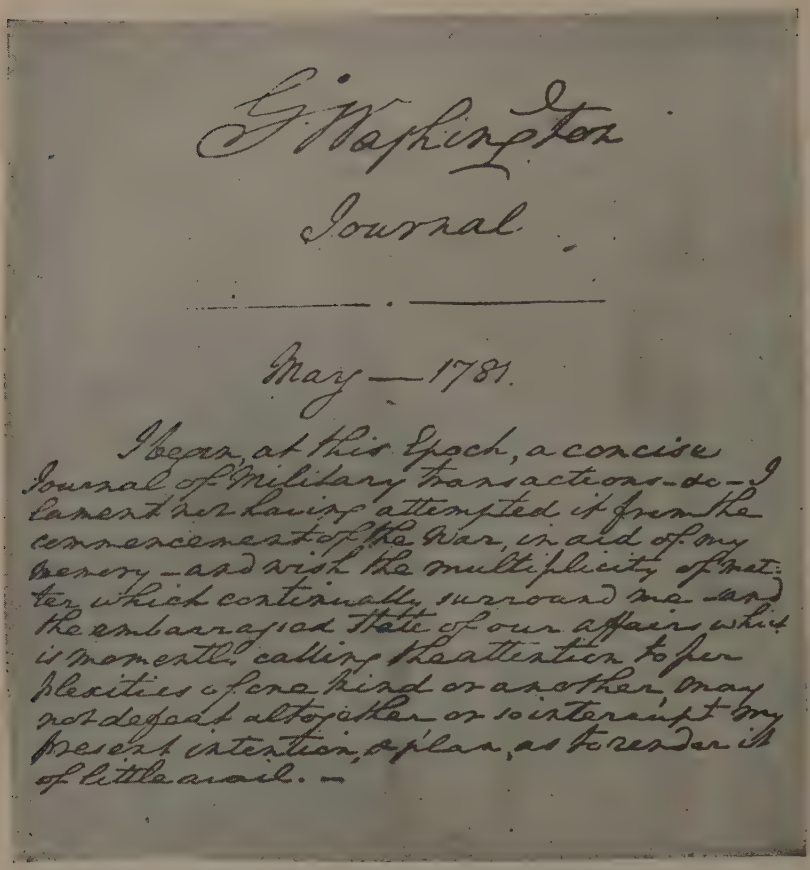
Beginning with the Hickey plot in 1776, treachery dogged Washington's footsteps throughout the war. Upon one occasion he was invited by a Tory of some prominence to dine at his house, the host planning to have British troops

Webb Tavern at Wethersfield, Connecticut, where Washington conferred with Rochambeau.

appear at a given moment to seize the Continental Commander. The invitation was accepted; but Washington, having been warned of the plot, arrived an hour ahead of time. When a troop of red-coated cavalry dashed up to the house, Washington asked the meaning of their visit.

"It is a party of British light horse, sent for my protection," replied his host, suavely; "you are my prisoner, General."

"I think not," retorted Washington; "but I know that you are mine!" Then, turning to the troops, "Arrest this traitor!"



G. Washington

Journal

May — 1781.

I begin, at this Epoch, a concise Journal of Military transactions &c — I lament not having attempted it from the commencement of the War, in aid of my memory — and wish the multiplicity of matter which continually surround me — and the embarrassed state of our affairs which is momently calling the attention to perplexities of one kind or another, may not defeat it altogether or so interrupt my present intention, & plan, as to render it of little avail. —

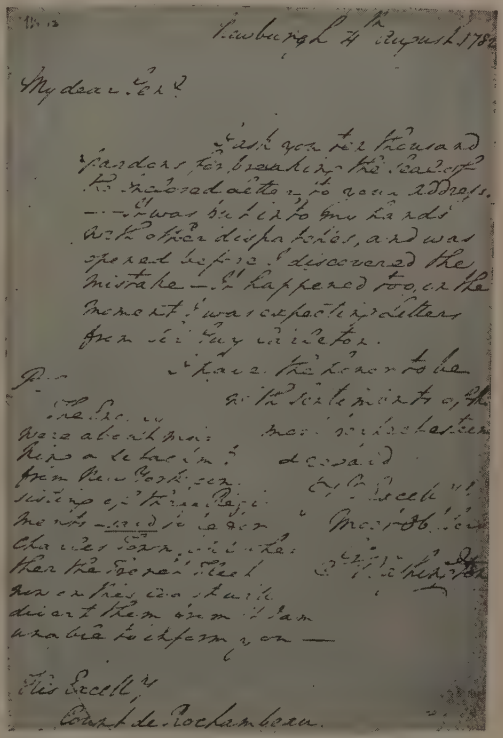
Excerpt from Washington's journal of May, 1781.

The soldiers were his own Continentals, disguised in red coats taken from stores captured from the British.[1]

During the Revolution, Washington omitted his diary, in the main, but in the above facsimile letter of May, 1781 he promises to do better.

[1] It is related of a certain Scot that, hearing a rumor that the Commander-in-Chief had been captured, he shook his head gloomily, remarking "He is too gude a man to be hangit." Washington evidently shared the Scotchman's thought, for he once remarked to his aide, "Reed, my neck does not feel as though it was made for a halter."

Washington was almost constantly travelling in 1781. On the seventeenth of May he met Rochambeau in conference at Wethersfield, Connecticut, and learned that Admiral Count De Grasse had sailed with troops and supplies for America. This was joyful news—and timely.[1] The Continentals were still in need of practically everything, including food for themselves and provender for their animals; so much in need, that Washington found it necessary to write to the Quartermaster-General about it:



Letter to Count Rochambeau.

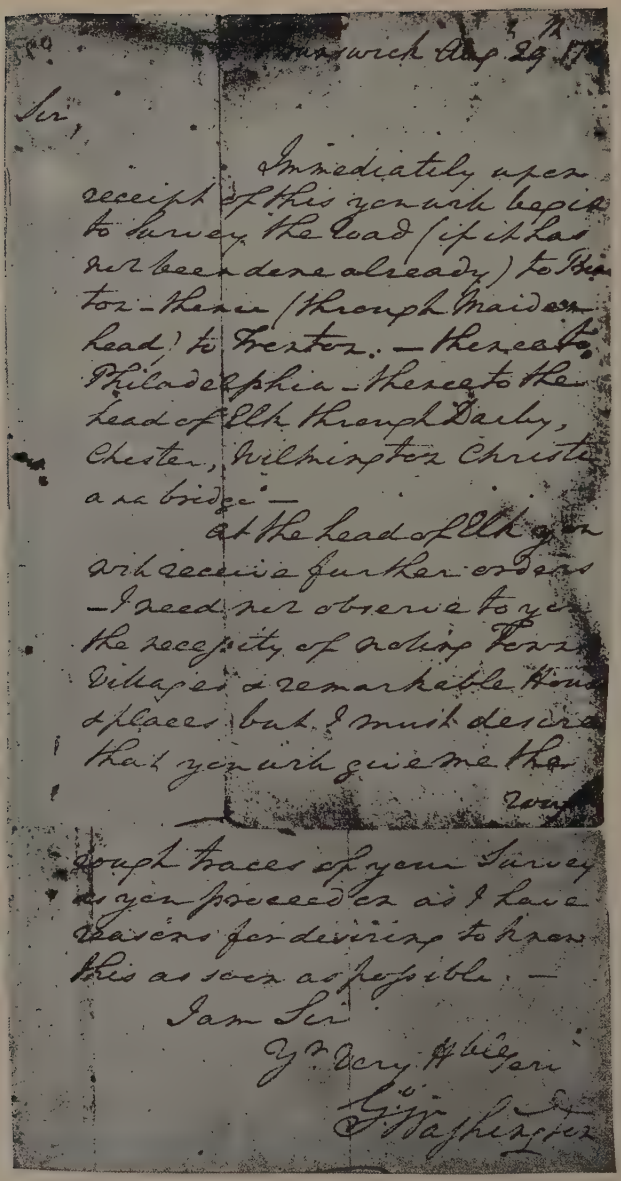
"Sir:

"My horses, I am told, have not had a mouthful of long or short forage for three days. They have eaten up their mangers, and are now, though wanted for immediate use, scarcely able to stand."

[1] Dec. 20, 1780. In a personal letter from Washington to Benjamin Franklin in Paris, he voices his unrest and regrets:

"Disappointed in the second division of French troops, but more especially in the expected naval superiority which was the pivot upon which everything turned, we have been compelled to spend an inactive campaign, after a flattering prospect at the opening of it, and vigorous struggles to make it a decisive one on our part."

It was not until the year 1781 was half gone that this second French fleet made good.



Brunswick Aug 29 17

Sir,

Immediately upon receipt of this you will begin to survey the road (if it has not been done already) to Bristol — thence (through Maidenhead) to Trenton. — thence to Philadelphia — thence to the head of Elk through Darby, Chester, Wilmington Christina bridge —

At the head of Elk you will receive further orders — I need not observe to you the necessity of noting down Villages & remarkable Houses & places but I must desire that you will give me the roughest traces of your Survey as you proceed on as I have reasons for desiring to know this as soon as possible. —

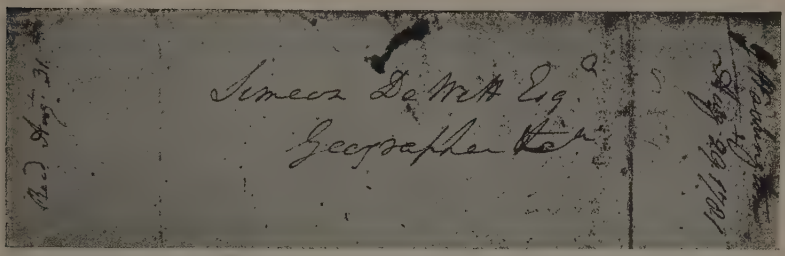
I am Sir

Your Very Humble Servant

G Washington

Washington's confidential letter to Simeon De Witt, "Geographer." *Courtesy of Rutgers (Queen's) College.*

During all of the various happenings of this eventful year, Washington's mind was busy with the plan of campaign designed to bring final victory. In the late summer he wrote to Simeon De Witt,[1] a surveyor and geographer, instructing him to make certain surveys which would be indispensable in the operations which he had in mind. He selected the officers most competent to aid in carrying out his project; despatched Lafayette to the South with twelve hundred men to harass Cornwallis, head him toward Yorktown peninsula, and, incidentally gather the best of Virginia's blood and sinew to his standard, a task which he most

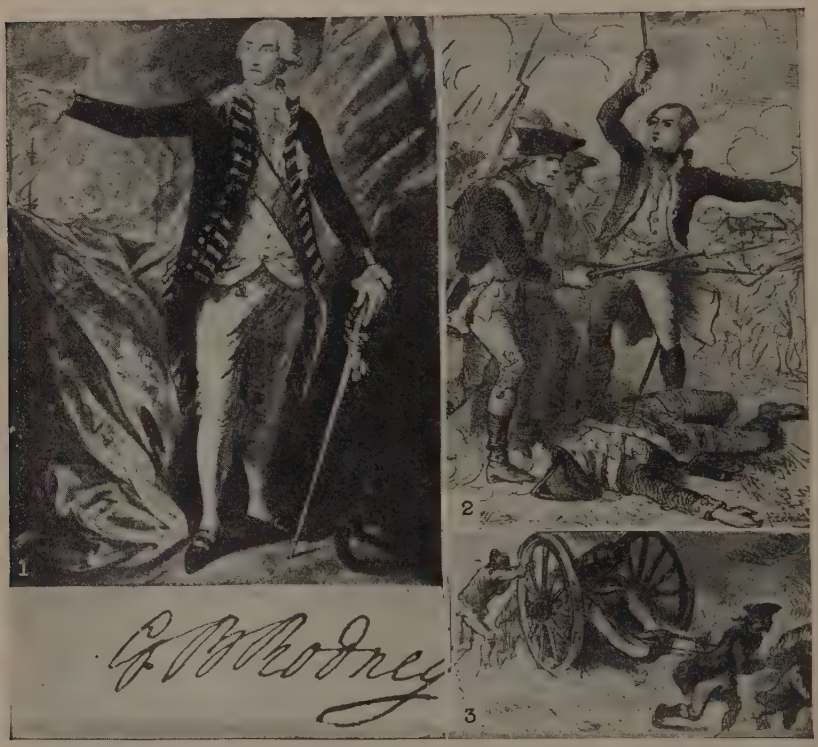

Simeon De Witt Esq.
Geographer &c.

Address and signature on letter from Washington to Simeon De Witt on page 56.

successfully performed; Washington also made sure that two carefully prepared decoy letters were despatched, the bearers being sent in opposite directions, and by routes chosen with a view to their inevitable capture. The letters fell into the enemy's hands according to schedule, the result being that Clinton remained in New York—as General Washington intended he should—while Cornwallis was adroitly led out of the Carolinas to encamp on a point of land in Virginia on the shores of Chesapeake Bay—also as General Washington intended. From the letter sent North,

[1] See facsimile on page 56. It is shown here by courtesy of Rutgers (Queen's) College, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Simeon De Witt was of the class of 1776, Rutgers College (now Rutgers University)—its first graduate. After the war he was for many years Surveyor-General of the State of New York, and laid out most of the city of New York north of Sixteenth Street.

Clinton deduced that Washington planned to attack New York City; and from the letter sent South was gleaned the misleading information that York peninsula was an impregnable refuge. Both generals greedily swallowed the bait so diplomatically provided for their consumption.

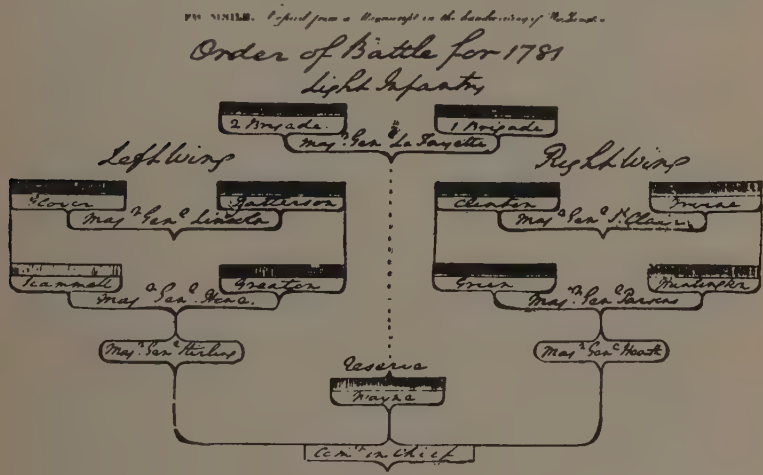


1. Admiral Rodney and his signature to the despatch that he had defeated De Grasse in 1782 at St. Eustatius. 2–3. In the redoubts at Yorktown

As though appointed by Destiny to make the way clear for Washington, Admiral Rodney, of the British fleet,—instead of remaining where he could be of most service and support to Lord Cornwallis, or returning to his aid—had decided in the previous year (1780) to take his fleet to the West Indies, and thus block the incoming of American

supplies. The act followed the plan. Rodney sailed for West Indian waters; captured St. Eustatius, with the shipping anchored there;[1] and eventually (in 1782) engaged in a sea fight with the French fleet and captured De Grasse.[2]

In the meantime, Washington matured his plan of moving his entire army to Virginia and there attacking Cornwallis —snugly entrenched on York peninsula—but with a great dearth of battleships to protect him from attack by sea.



How General Washington planned a battle.

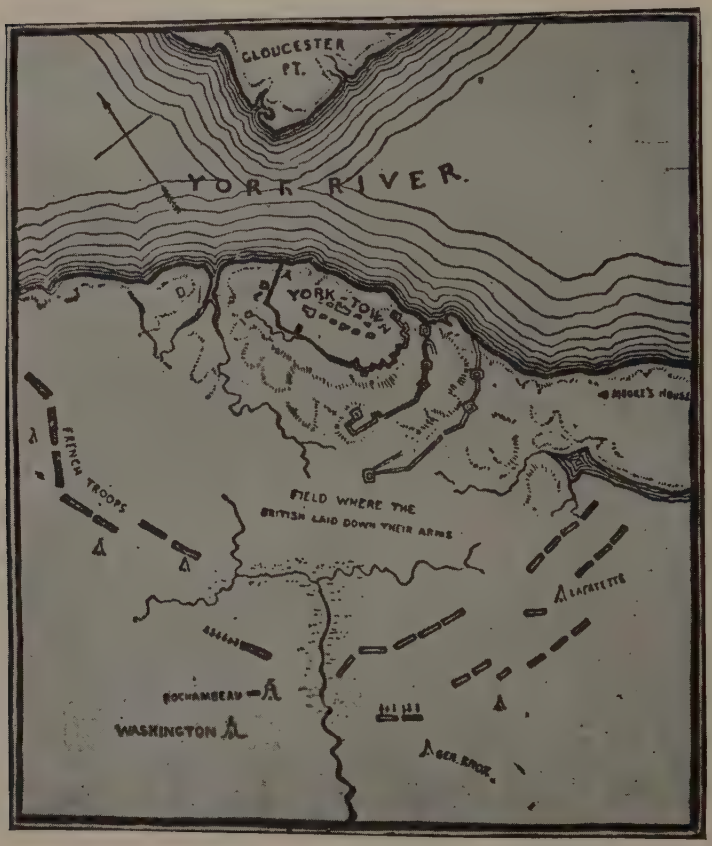
It was a great spectacle for Philadelphia when Washington's army—two miles long—marched through on its way to the Chesapeake, there to join forces with the French by land, and gain the assistance of De Grasse's fleet by sea. The French admiral—like the British admiral—was anxious to have a "back door" to the open sea for retreat if necessary, and, fearing to be caught in the Chesapeake, nearly wrecked Washington's carefully made plans to end the war by sailing for the West Indies; but the combined arguments

[1] See page 20.

[2] In this battle, which was the undoing of De Grasse, he captured the magnificent *Ville de Paris*.

of Washington and Lafayette induced him to desist, and he was thus complimented by Washington:

> "A great mind knows how to make personal sacrifice to secure an important general good."



Details of battle of Yorktown. © *Ernest Peixotto.*
Most of the small British fleet off Yorktown was burned to prevent capture.

Then occurred one of the most picturesque military marches in historic annals; when the "ragged Continentals," in bedraggled buff-and-blue, kept pace with their French allies, the "Sparkling Bourbonniers," in snowy white, on

the sunny Southward road—never stopping except for the bivouac each night; until the amazed Cornwallis suddenly found himself surrounded by well-constructed earthworks, bristling with cannon—and no friendly fleet within rescuing distance.

Under orders from Sir Henry Clinton at New York, and against his own better judgment, he had reached Yorktown

Diagram showing position of both the English and French fleets in York River.
© *Ernest Peixotto.*

Heights on the twenty-second of September—thus entering the trap that Washington had carefully set for him. York (Manhattan) Island, on the Hudson, and Yorktown, in the Chesapeake, were typical man-traps. The Continental General escaped from one; the British warrior was inescapably caught in the other. Three days later, Washington reached Williamsburg with twelve thousand troops, American and French. Admiral De Grasse, on his flagship,

the *Ville de Paris*, anchored off Yorktown with his fleet. Cornwallis probably realized then that disaster was imminent and unavoidable.

On the twenty-eighth of September the Americans began

Washington firing the first shot at Yorktown. *H. A. Ogden.*
Courtesy Jones Bros. Publishing Co.

to close in on the marooned British troops. Both armies built redoubt after redoubt—on what was a natural battle-ground, Simeon De Witt aiding in the construction of those on the American side. Cornwallis attempted a retreat by night across the river at Gloucester Point; but a storm arose and carried the boats downstream.[1] It was his last chance. Disaster had one foot in the saddle.

Hand-to-hand conflict in the redoubts at Yorktown.

General Washington himself fired the first gun at Yorktown, opening a cannonade which lasted four days and nights.[2] On the seventeenth of October Lord Cornwallis,

[1] Storms played an important rôle in the Revolutionary War, often turning the scale in favor of the Americans.

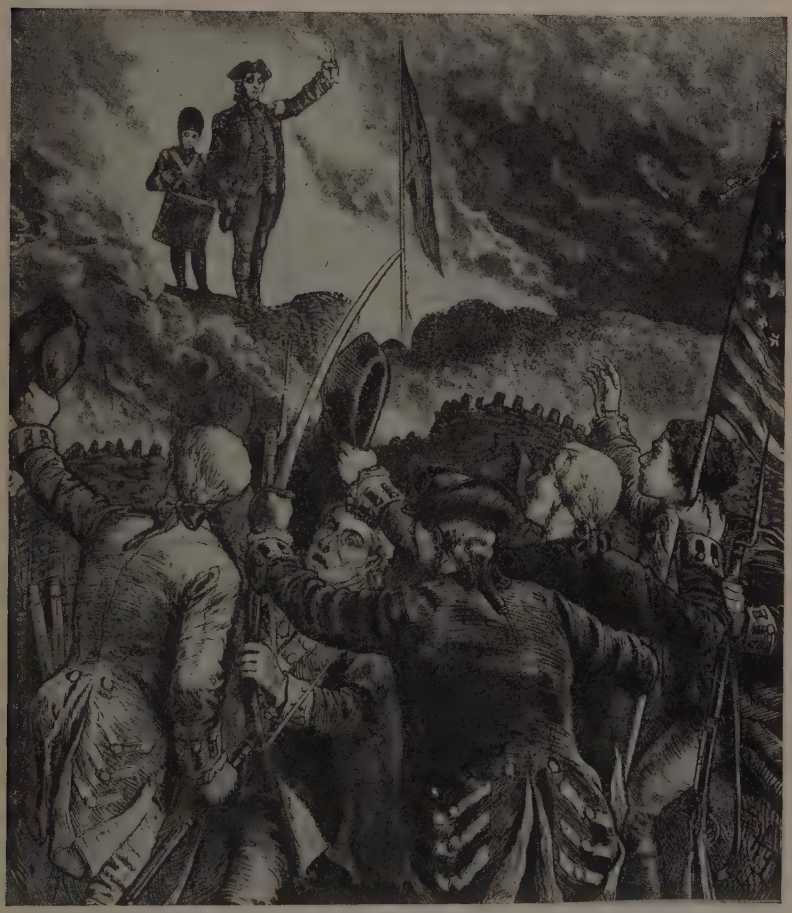
[2] When Governor Nelson, whose son was on Washington's staff, was asked by Lafayette where to direct the fire, he replied:

"To that house of mine over there, on the chance that Cornwallis is using it as headquarters."

Governor Nelson was one of the most generous of the patriots, loaning money to the Government and otherwise aiding the cause. The money was never repaid.

Washington inspecting the French batteries before Yorktown.

realizing the hopelessness of his position, swallowed his pride and sent to General Washington a note, the penning of



A thrilling moment for America, when the drummer boy beat the roll for parley and the waving of a white flag stopped the roar of cannon and the sharp crackle of musketry. © *Harper Bros.*

The white flag of truce at Yorktown, October 17, 1781.

which must have meant bitter humiliation to his proud spirit. Brief as it is, it breathes the chagrin of the high-born Englishman who was also a brave and able general:

"York, Virginia, 17th Octr., 1781

"Sir:

"I propose a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, and that two officers be appointed by each side to meet at Mr. Moore's house to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"Cornwallis.

"His Excellency

"General Washington."[1]

General Washington's reply was dignified and to the point:

"To Lord Cornwallis.

"My Lord:

"To avoid unnecessary delay, I shall at once, in answer to your lordship's letter of yesterday, declare the general basis upon which a definite treaty and capitulation must take place.

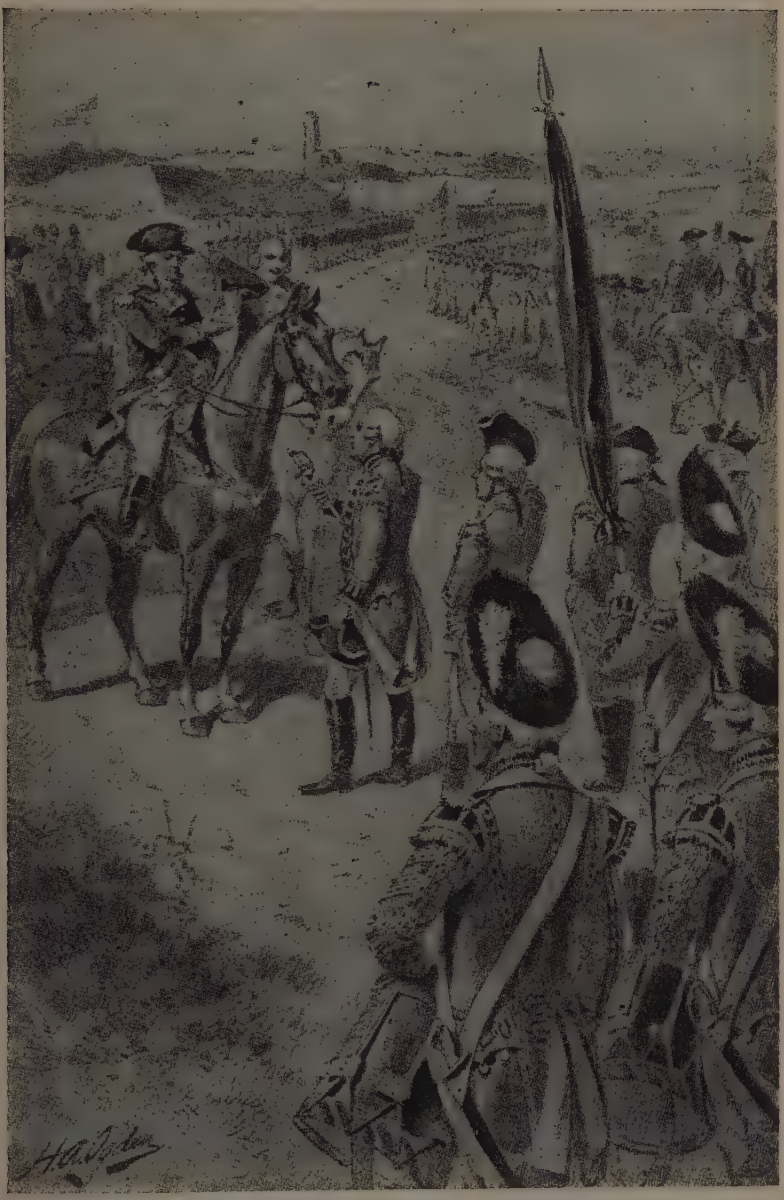
. . . . . .

"Your lordship will be pleased to signify your determination either to accept or reject the proposition now offered in the course of two hours from the delivery of this letter; that commissioners may be appointed to digest the articles of capitulation, or a renewal of hostilities may take place."

On the nineteenth of October, 1781, General Cornwallis—declining to yield his sword in person, claiming illness—sent

[1] This courteous note is in strong contrast with the insolent form of address adopted by Howe in communicating with "George Washington, Esq." (The document is transcribed here by courtesy of J. P. Morgan, Esq., who owns the original.)

Washington wisely accorded Cornwallis only two hours, instead of the twenty-four asked. When Prevost requested an armistice of 24 hours of d'Estaing, during the investment of Savannah, he made use of the respite to increase his defences and receive reinforcements; the result being that Count Pulaski and one thousand French soldiers were killed, and the Continentals defeated.



Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
© *Jones Bros. Publishing Co. H. A. Ogden.*

it to General Washington by the hand of General O'Hara. At two o'clock P.M. the British army at Yorktown grounded

French conception of Cornwallis' surrender.

arms, and marched off the battle-field to the tune of "The World Is Upside Down." Lafayette ordered the American

musicians to strike up "Yankee Doodle." Washington remarked:

> "The work is done, and well done; bring me my horse."

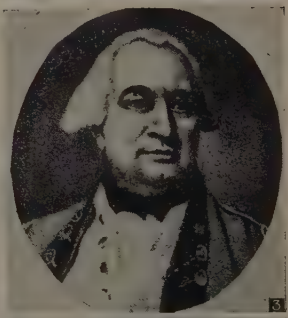
Addressing his troops, he said:

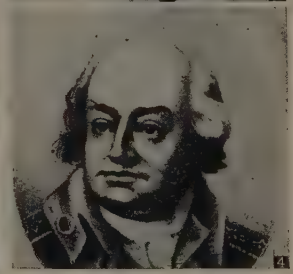
> "My brave fellows, let no sense of satisfaction for the triumphs you have gained induce you to insult your fallen enemy. Let no shouting, no clamorous huzzaing increase their mortification. . . . Posterity will huzza for us."

The arrival of the couriers in Philadelphia with the news: "Cornwallis is taken!" took the staid old town off its feet.

Liberty Bell that hung in Independence Hall.

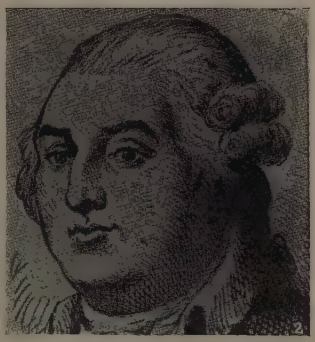
The slogan echoed in every street and alley. The Liberty Bell spread the glad tidings to the whole countryside—joyously, clamorously, as it had announced the signing of

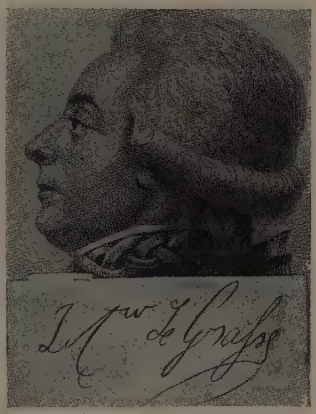




1. Yorktown's main thoroughfare.
2. Philadelphia watchman calling "Cornwallis is taken."
3. Cornwallis in middle life.
4. General B. H. Lincoln, his opponent.

the American Magna Charta in 1776. Its inscription carried a new meaning on that day of days in America's history, presaging a more far-reaching liberty for all mankind—North and South, black as well as white—in the distant future.

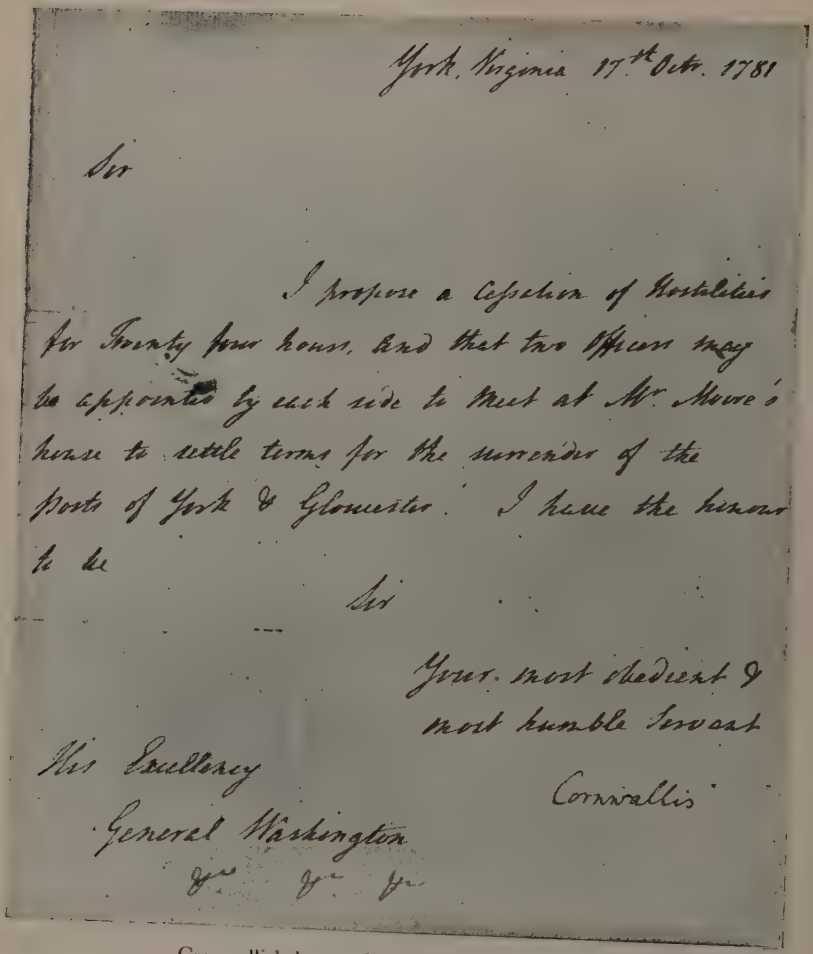




1. The Yorktown monument. 2. Louis XVI. 3. Count DeGrasse.

There was no sleep for Philadelphia that night. Early on the following morning Congress assembled, and at two o'clock P.M. adjourned in a body to the House of God to give thanks for the stupendous victory.

The surrender of Cornwallis startled the whole civilized world. Lord Germain wrote that "Lord North took the



York, Virginia 17th Octr. 1781

Sir

I propose a Cessation of Hostilities for Twenty four hours, and that two Officers may be appointed by each side to meet at Mr. Moore's house to settle terms for the surrender of the Posts of York & Gloucester. I have the honour to be

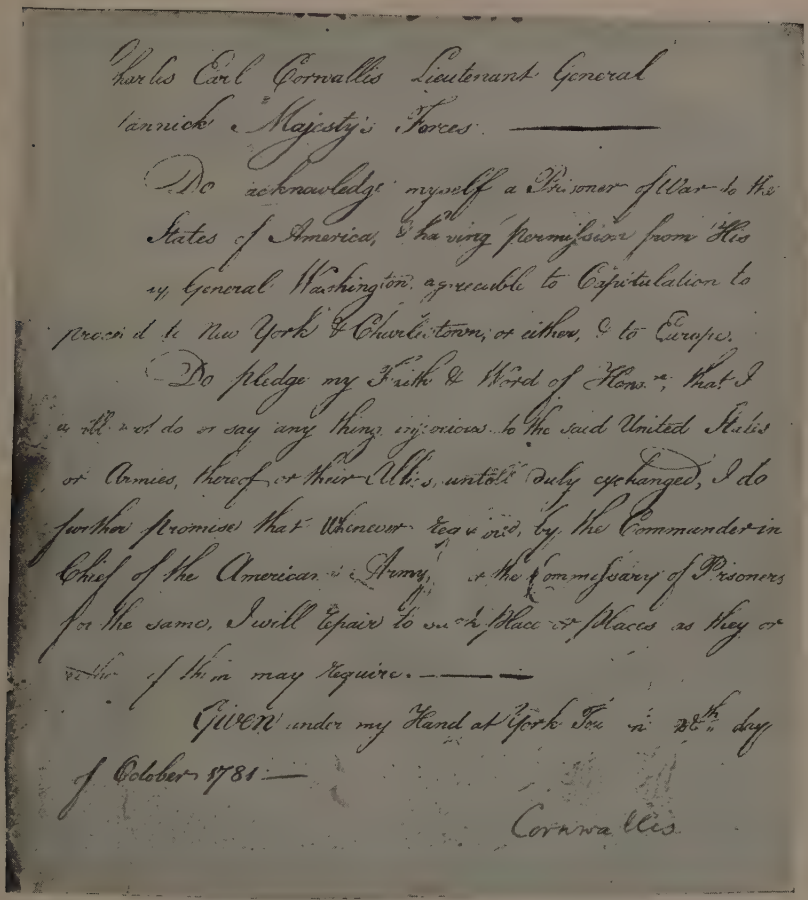
Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

Cornwallis

His Excellency
General Washington
&c. &c. &c.

Cornwallis's letter of surrender to Washington.



Charles Earl Cornwallis Lieutenant General
& Major in His Majesty's Forces.

Do acknowledge myself a Prisoner of War to the
States of America, & having permission from His
Excy General Washington agreeable to Capitulation to
proceed to New York & Charlestown, or either, & to Europe.

Do pledge my Faith & Word of Honor, that I
will not do or say any thing injurious to the said United States
or Armies, thereof or their Allies, untill duly exchanged, I do
further promise that whenever required, by the Commander in
Chief of the American Army, or the Commissary of Prisoners
for the same, I will repair to such place or places as they or
either of them may require.

Given under my Hand at York Town in the 19th day
of October 1781.

Cornwallis

Facsimile of Cornwallis' parole, signed by him.
Courtesy of the University of Virginia.

news as he would have taken a cannon ball in his breast." Franklin, from his beloved Paris, wrote to John Adams:

> "Most heartily do I congratulate you on the glorious news. The infant Hercules in his cradle has now strangled his second serpent."

As a conqueror Washington turned a new page in history, transforming men who had been his bitter enemies into warmly admiring friends. When, after the surrender, he entertained the leading officers of the three armies at dinner, the toast of Lord Cornwallis was:

> "Fame will gather your brightest laurels rather on the banks of the Delaware than from those of the Chesapeake."

1. The Moore house at Yorktown.
2. Death of Pulaski at Savannah. © *Charles Scribner's Sons.*
3. Capturing a Yorktown redoubt.
4. British flag captured at Yorktown.

A delicate reference to his own discomfiture at Washington's victories at Trenton and Princeton, in which the American Commander neither had nor required aid from a foreign power.[1]

[1] For views of modern English statesmen on the Yorktown surrender refer to Note I, Appendix.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE DEATH ANGEL VISITS THE WASHINGTONS. PRELIMINARY PEACE MEASURES. THE MAN WHO WOULD NOT BE KING. THE PEACE TREATY SIGNED. THE ARMY DEMOBILIZED, GENERAL WASHINGTON RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION. THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN REVIEW

IN THE midst of life—death. The pæans of victory were still ringing in Washington's ears when the Dark Angel again descended upon Mrs. Washington's family —this time to seize her beloved son, Jack.

Attached to his step-father's staff as an aide, John Parke Custis had seen considerable service, but exposure and the rigors of army life had brought on incurable disease. His case was known to be hopeless when Washington led his army on its Southward march; but Jack lived long enough to witness the surrender at Yorktown, insisting upon being present at that ceremony. He was carried thence to Eltham, New Kent county, to the home of Colonel Bassett, Mrs. Washington's brother-in-law;[1] and it was then clear that his hours were numbered. Direct from Yorktown the General hastened across country to Eltham,—whither his sorrow-stricken wife had already gone,—arriving there in time to be with the once robust and happy young man in his dying moments. Jack Custis—Mrs. Washington's only son—was but twenty-eight when his earth-life ended.[2]

Duty called General Washington away before the funeral rites were solemnized. Scarcely an hour after his cherished stepson's death, he rose from that last prayer beside the lifeless

[1] Colonel Bassett had married her sister, Betsey Dandridge.
[2] His sister, Patsy, had died in 1773. (Refer to page 108.)

form, embraced his broken-hearted wife and, without pausing for rest or refreshment, rode thirty miles to Yorktown.[1]

Of the four young children that John Parke Custis left,

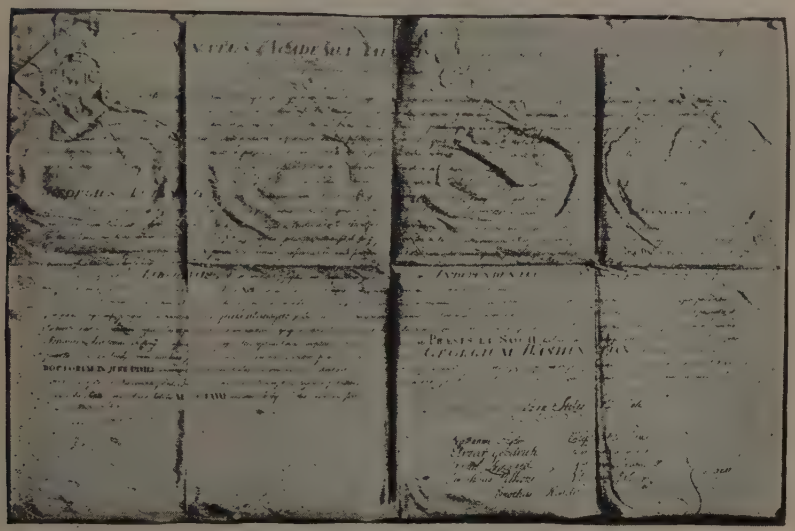
Death-bed scene of John (Jack) Custis.

[1] Honors crowded in upon Washington after the Yorktown victory. Yale, emulating the example set by Harvard in 1776, conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.; and various societies elected him to membership. (Refer to page 77; also Vol. I, page 391.)

December 17, 1781, Washington was adopted into the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. He said:

> "I accept with singular pleasure the ensign of so friendly a fraternity as that of the 'Sons of St. Patrick,' in this city—a society distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked."

the eldest was only five years old. The two younger children —Eleanor (Nelly) Parke Custis, whose age was two years and seven months; and George Washington Parke Custis, who was an infant of six months—accompanied their grandmother back to Mount Vernon. Both were adopted by General and Mrs. Washington, although they retained the Custis family name.[1] Sweet solace for her bereaved



Diploma from Yale College.
Washington's LL. D. from Yale, September 17, 1781.

mother-heart must the lady of Mount Vernon have found in these two little children; who, too young to be saddened by grief, could bring the sunny atmosphere of innocent childhood into the family circle.

[1] Of the two other children, Elizabeth eventually married Thomas Law, and Martha married Thomas Peter. When Jack Custis' young widow was considering marriage with Washington's friend, Dr. David Stewart, Washington wrote:

> "I shall never give advice to a woman who is setting out on a matrimonial voyage; first, because I never could advise one to marry without her own consent; and secondly because I know it is to no purpose to advise her to refrain when she has obtained it."

Eleanor Calvert Custis married the Doctor, and had ten children.

After the Cornwallis defeat and surrender and the loss of his army (the second such loss to the invaders, Burgoyne's army being the first), the British government realized that to continue the war in America would amount to madness. With continual disturbances nearer home,[1] it was impossible to spare either men or munitions for further trans-Atlantic warfare; losses to British commerce from American privateers were constant and irremediable; and, with France and Holland already in sympathy with the Revolutionary Colonists, and the sympathy extending throughout Europe, the outlook on every hand promised nothing but disaster.[2] On the twenty-seventh of November, 1781, when the American question was under consideration in Parliament, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, William Conway and William Pitt the younger so strongly advocated the cause of the Colonists that they lost only by one vote. On the fourth of March, 1782, Conway rose to offer the following Resolution:

> "That the House of Commons and the nation would consider as enemies to His Majesty and the country, all those who should advise or by any means attempt the further prosecution of offensive war on the Continent of North America."

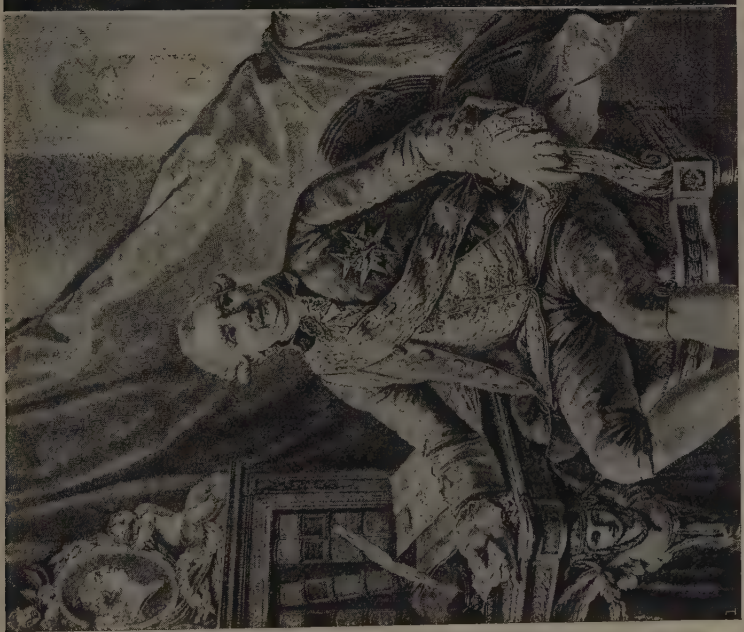
The handwriting on the wall was too plain to be mistaken. Lord North, disheartened by the turn of events and weary of continued opposition, resigned the Premiership. Although peace was not yet an assured fact, the end was in sight when an official decree was signed ordering the cessation of hostilities in America.

In the meantime, General Washington—far from considering the war at an end—concentrated his energies upon

[1] In the Low Countries.

[2] On the American side it was realized—both by Congress and General Washington—that with St. Eustatius (which had been their main source of war supplies) in the hands of the British, peace was the wisest solution of the problem.

2. As Cornwallis looked at the time of his surrender.



1. Charles Cravieu, Count de Vergennes.

ways and means to insure a sound and lasting peace. He outlined his views with singular conclusiveness in this letter to Colonel Robert H. Harrison, written on the eighteenth of November, 1781:[1]

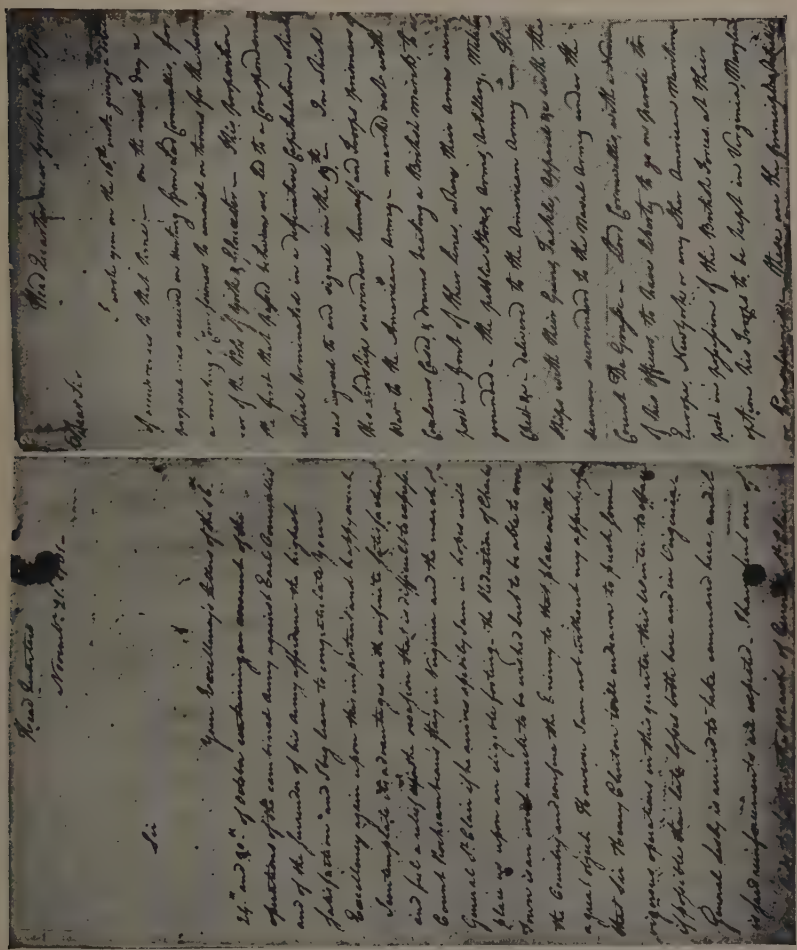
> "I thank you for your kind congratulations on the capitulation of Cornwallis. It is an interesting event, and may be productive of much good if properly improved; but if it should be the means of relaxation, and sink us into supineness and security, it had better not have happened.
>
> "Great Britain, for some time past, has been encouraged by the impolicy of our conduct to continue the war, and, should there be interference of European politics in her favor, peace may be farther removed from us than we expect; while one thing we are sure of, and that is that the only certain way to obtain peace is to prepare for war. Policy, interest, economy, all unite to stimulate the States to fill the Continental battalions and provide the means of supporting them. I hope the present favorable moment for doing it will not be neglected."

His opinion had not changed four months later (March 12, 1782), when he wrote to James McHenry, of Maryland:

> "Never since the commencement of the present Revolution has there been, in my judgment, a period where vigorous measures were more consonant to sound policy than the present. The speech of the British King and the addresses to the Lords and Commons are proofs as clear as Holy Writ to me of two things—their wish to prosecute the American War and their fear of the consequences."

[1] This is one of a number of General Washington's unpublished letters, discovered in Washington, D. C., in the summer of 1923. Colonel Harrison had followed Colonel Reed as aide and secretary to General Washington, who held him in high esteem. In 1789, after Washington's inauguration as First President, he appointed Colonel Harrison an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

With this idea firmly entrenched in his mind, Washington personally wrote to each of the thirteen State Governors, three months after the Yorktown surrender:



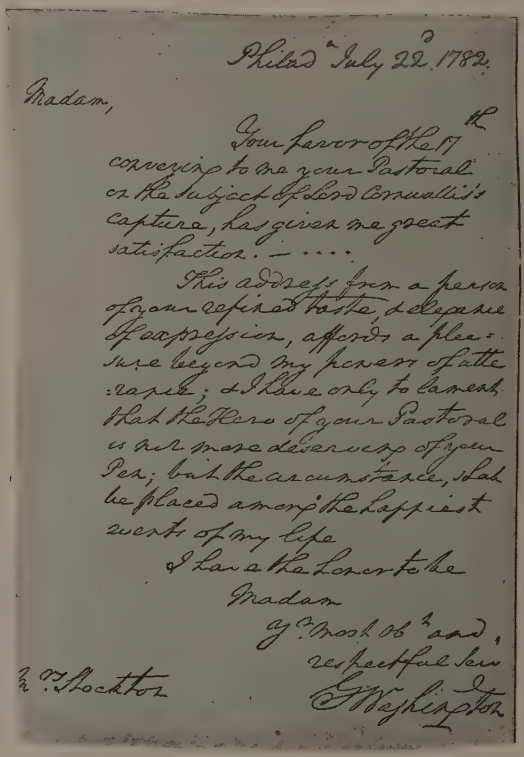
Excerpt from General Greene's letter of congratulation to Washington on his Yorktown victory.

"The broken and perplexed state of the enemy's affairs, and the successes of the last campaign on our part, ought to be a powerful incitement to vigorous

preparations for the next. Unless we strenuously exert ourselves to profit by these successes, we shall not only lose all solid advantages that might be derived from them, but we shall become contemptible in our eyes, in the eyes of our enemy, in the opinion of posterity, and even in the estimation of the whole world, which will consider us a nation unworthy of prosperity because we know not how to make a right use of it."

None knew better than Washington that there could be no real security until Peace Articles had been officially signed and the last Redcoat was on his way home.

During the winter of 1781-82 Washington's Headquarters were at Newburgh, on the Hudson, in the State of New York. Although there was no fighting, there were other troubles. The usual shortage of supplies and money, added to the discomforts of winter weather, kept the soldiers discontented and on the edge of insubordination. At one time during this period, according to David Humphrys, one of



Philad.a July 22. 1782.

Madam,

Your favor of the 17th conveying to me your Pastoral on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's capture, has given me great satisfaction. — ....

This address from a person of your refined taste, & elegance of expression, affords a pleasure beyond my powers of attexpressing; & I have only to lament that the Hero of your Pastoral is not more deserving of your Pen; but the circumstance, shall be placed amongst the happiest events of my life

I have the honor to be

Madam

Your Most Obed.t and respectful Serv.t

G. Washington

Mrs. Stockton

This note to Mrs. Stockton shows Washington's versatility.

1. Exterior of the Hasbrouck house, Washington's headquarters at Newburgh, N.Y.
2. Interior of the Hasbrouck house. © *Harper Bros.*

his aides, Washington feared the revolt of the entire army, so distressing were the living conditions and so diligent were his enemies in fomenting mischief under the surface. While peace negotiations were being talked of among the legislators, mutiny and desertion were seriously depleting the ranks of the army—which must, necessarily, be held together at all costs until peace was definitely assured. But after years of the bitter hardship inseparable from war, the men were utterly weary of the whole thing. The homes of many were desolate, their families starving. Indeed, that gaunt and hideous spectre, Starvation, haunted the American forces and their families throughout the entire period of the war—and for a long time after.

Knowing the mutinous spirit at work among the soldiers, Washington ordered them assembled that he might face the situation. He began to speak from notes; but, unable to see the lines, ended with saying:

"Men, I have grown gray, and am now almost blind, in the service of my country——"

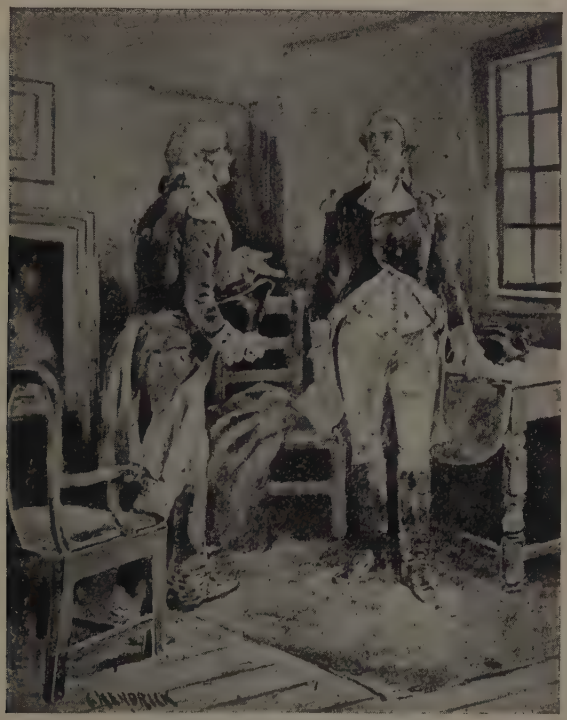
His voice broke. The men, touched to the quick by the saddened aspect of their great Commander, asserted their loyalty in voices choked with sobs. The mutiny was over.

Shortly afterward the first Dutch loan of gold and silver arrived from Holland; the men were paid; and thereafter desertions were few.

The United States Treasury had its beginning in this Dutch loan, the first vault being built at Newburgh, New York, at Army Headquarters. The Philadelphia vault was built — from the cellar floor, up under the fireplace — in Lafayette's house, in the vicinity of Fourth and Cherry Streets.[1]

[1] When the Holland loan was repaid, in 1808, the specie was not returned to Holland (at that time under the rule of Napoleon), but was invested in the development of a tract of four million acres of land, in Western New York and

But now an extraordinary and totally unforeseen condition arose. By one of those strange contradictions which makes human nature the complex mystery it is, the Colonists had no sooner thrown one monarch into the discard than

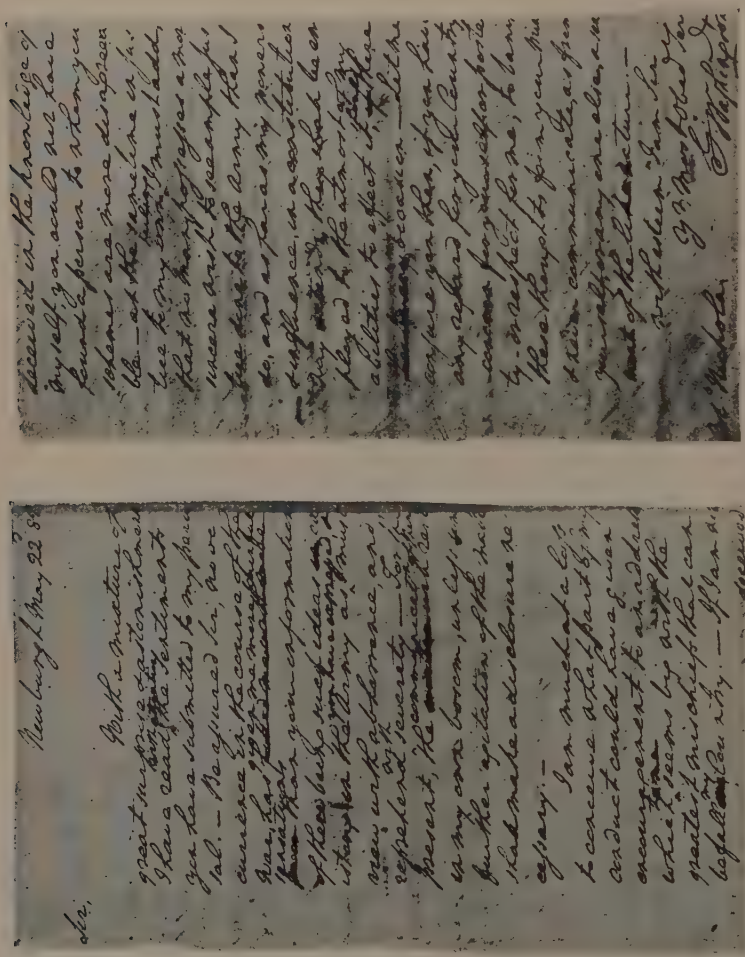


Washington refusing a kingship.
© *Jones Brothers Publishing Co.*

they began to yearn for another—some of them, at least. Even so sterling an American as John Adams was dubious about a democracy of questionable stability; Jay personally believed in a monarchy; in fact, the "king" bee buzzed in

Pennsylvania. The Holland Land Office at Batavia, New York—now a patriotic museum—is an existing monument to the benefits accruing both to Holland and the United States in this wise disposal of the funds.

many a patriotic brain. In the spring of 1782 an attempt was made—by some would-be courtiers who possessed more ardor than good sense—to interest General Washington in



In this rarely published facsimile letter of May 22, 1782, Washington rejects a kingship.

these ideas; more specifically, actually proposed a kingship to him. The proposition, needless to say, was instantly rejected as an unwarrantable insult—which, as a matter of

fact, it was.[1] So indignant was the General at the suggestion, that he wrote a personal letter to Colonel Lewis Nichola, in which he expressed his deep abhorrence of the whole scheme:

"Newburgh, May 22nd, 1782.

"Sir:

"With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal.

"Be assured, Sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your

The foregoing is an exact copy of a Letter which we sealed & sent off to Colonel Nichola at the request of the writer of it.

D. Humphreys
Aid. de. Camp
Jon^a Trumbull Junr Secty

Acknowledgment by his secretary and aide of Washington's refusal of a kingship, which formed the ending of the letter on page 86.

information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed—and I must view with abhorrence, and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own

[1] It is said that the popular song of that time, "No King but God," composed by Nathaniel Billings, of New Jersey, aided materially in killing the monarchy idea.

bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make disclosure necessary.

"I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable; at the same time, in justice to my own feeling, I must add that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do, and as far as my powers and influence, in a constitution, may extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or anyone else, a sentiment of the like nature.

"With esteem, I am, Sir,

"Yr most obedt servt

"G. Washington."

"Col. Nichola."[1]

To make this emphatic rejection of the proposal more authoritative, General Washington had it countersigned by David Humphrys,[2] his aide, and Jonathan Trumbull,[3] his secretary—both staunch and trusted allies.

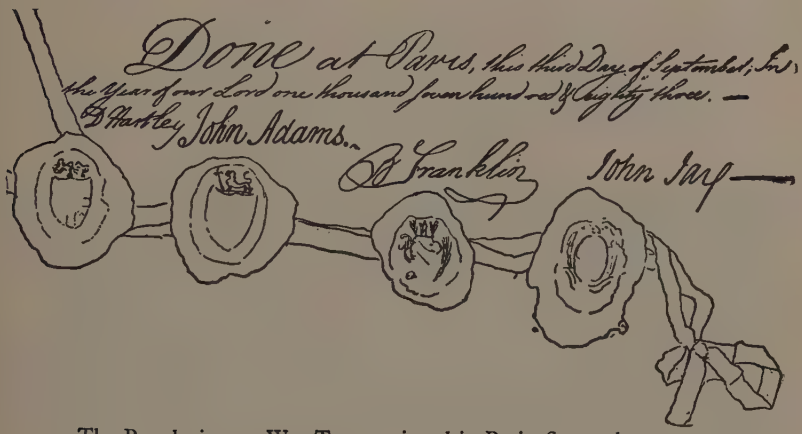
[1] This letter is reproduced in facsimile on page 86.

[2] When Humphrys once suggested to General Washington that he write his autobiography, the reply was:

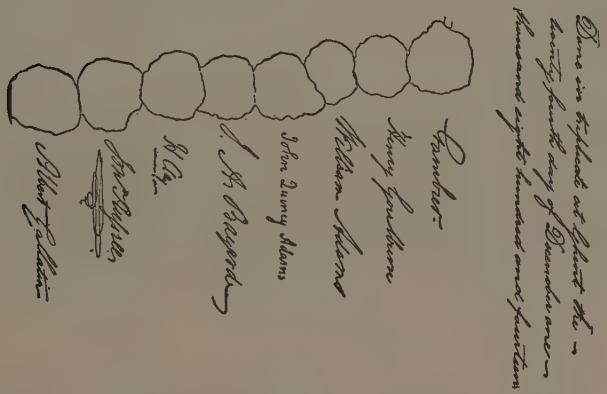
"I am not at leisure to turn my thoughts to commentaries. A consciousness of a defective education and a certainty of want of time unfit me for such an undertaking."

[3] Colonel John Trumbull, son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, painted effectively portraits of General Washington (see page 462). Governor Trumbull was a sturdy and generous patriot, and his judgment in financial and other matters was frequently requested by Washington. It is rumored that the familiar phrase "Brother Jonathan" had its origin in Washington's frequent remark, when important matters came up for discussion, "Let us hear what Brother Jonathan has to say."

In the midst of his many activities at Newburgh, General Washington found time to write a letter of advice to his



The Revolutionary War Treaty, signed in Paris, September 3, 1783.



Two documents showing that for which our forefathers fought. Facsimile of the momentous document, signed December 24, 1814, which silenced the battle clash between two English-speaking nations.

nephew, Bushrod,[1] son of his favorite brother John Augustine. The young man, it appears, had elected to become a lawyer; but the counsels given him by his illustrious uncle

[1] Bushrod later became the owner of Mount Vernon by Washington's will.

might be applied with equal appropriateness to any profession—or any period:

"Remember that it is not the mere study of the law, but to become eminent in the profession of it, which is to yield honor and profit. The first was your choice; let the second be your ambition. Remember that dissipa-

Peace commission of 1782, John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens, and William Temple Franklin. *Unfinished painting by Benjamin West.*

tion is incompatible with both; that the company in which you will improve most will be least expensive to you. Yet I am not such a stoic as to suppose that you should always be in company with senators and philosophers; but of the young and juvenile kind let me advise you to be choice. It is easy to make acquaintances, but very difficult to shake them off. Be courteous to all, but intimate with few."

The drafting and signing of the Peace Treaty ending the Revolutionary War was a tedious and complicated business, since France and Spain were involved in the Articles, as well as Great Britain. In November, 1782, the United States received acknowledgment as an independent nation in a provisional treaty, to which Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Henry Laurens and John Jay—four representative Americans—affixed their signatures at Versailles on behalf of the United States. England was represented—not by

The American army entering New York, November 25, 1783.

diplomats of recognized standing, as America had a right to expect, but by one Richard Oswald, a baker, and Caleb Whiteford, a wine merchant.[1]

The provisional articles became effective January 20, 1783. Lafayette himself sent the news to America, where it was received by the president of Congress on the seventeenth of April. On the nineteenth of April—eight years to

[1] A similar procedure was followed at Ghent in 1814–15, when British agents of ordinary type were appointed signatories for Great Britain, while America sent representatives of the finest and ablest order, among them James Baron Gambier, for whom Gambier College, in Ohio, was named.

To his Excellency George Washington Esquire General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America —

The Address of the Citizens of New York, who have return'd from Exile, in behalf of themselves and their suffering Brethren —

Sir

At a moment when the arm of Tyranny is yielding up its fondest usurpations: we hope the Salutations of long suffering Exiles but now happy freemen, will not be deem'd an unworthy tribute. — In this place, and at this moment of exultation and triumph, while the Ensigns of Slavery still linger in our sight, we look up to you in deliverer with unusual transports of Gratitude and Joy. — Permit us to Welcome you to this City, long lost from us by the hard hand of Oppression, but now, by your Wisdom and energy, under the guidance of Providence once more the seat of Peace and freedom; we forbear to speak our gratitude or your Praise we should but echo the voice of Applauding Millions; But the Citizens of New York are eminently indebted to your virtues and we who have now the honour to address your Excellency; have been often companions of your sufferings, and witnesses of your exertions. Permit us therefore to approach your Excellency with the dignity and Sincerity of freemen, and to

Excerpts from New York's Address of Welcome to Washington.

Disbanding the Revolutionary Army at Newburgh, N. Y. © *Harper Bros.* *H. A. Ogden.*

a day after the conflicts of Lexington and Concord—General Washington was instructed to proclaim a cessation of hostilities. The final Treaty was signed in Paris five months later—on the third of September, 1783.[1]

On the lawn of the Hasbrouck house, in Newburgh, Washington demobilized his army, bidding his soldiers and subalterns farewell in late October, 1783. In November—at Rocky Hill, near Princeton—he wrote his famous farewell to the Nation.

That twenty-fifth of November, 1783, was a gala day for the people of New York City—a veritable Thanksgiving Day; for on that day the last of the British troops to leave American shores sailed for England from the city, and General Washington made his triumphal entry. A flattering reception[2] was given the great Commander who had saved the country and helped to create the new nation.

At Fraunce's Tavern, on the fourth of December, General Washington bade his officers farewell. The scene—which has been immortalized in literature and on canvas—was a touching one. Here were the men who had helped to turn defeat into victory; the men who with him had braved the perils of the battle-field, the discomforts of the elements; who had suffered the privations of the camp and for years sacrificed every personal interest. Some had been with him throughout the war—among them General Knox, the Bostonian who had brought the cannon from Ticonderoga for the siege of his native city. These veterans of the war, it is said, Washington kissed as he took leave of them.

All were deeply affected. Washington said:

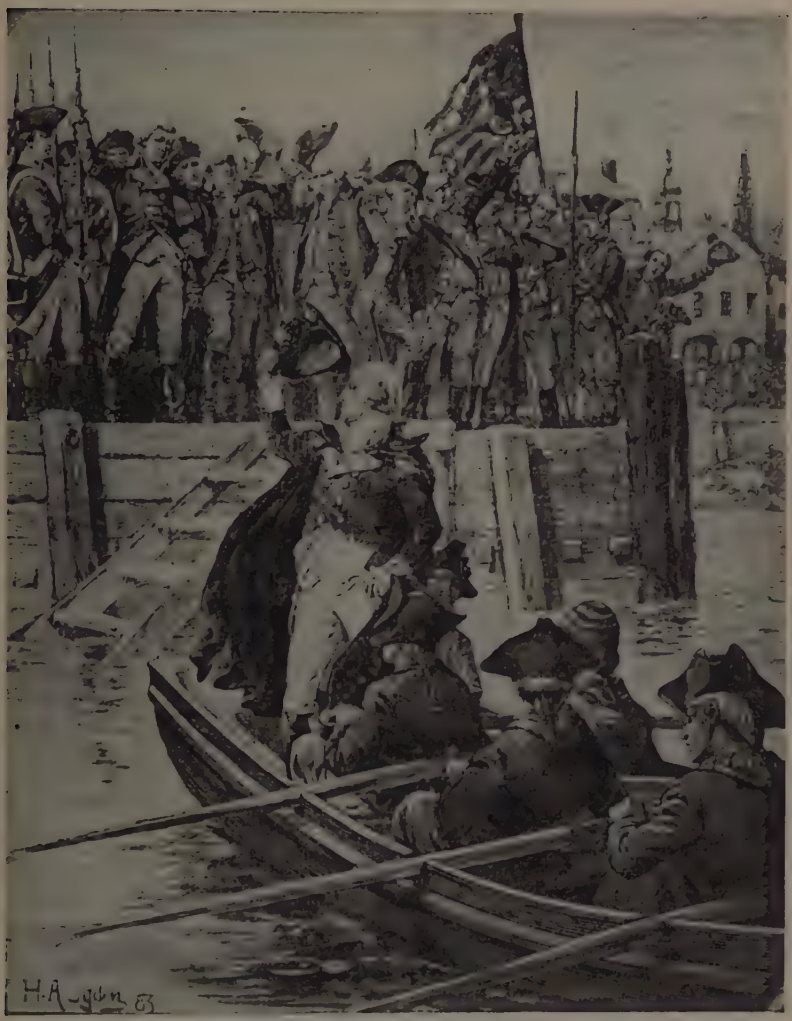
"I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but I shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand."

[1] September 24, 1783, after Princeton Commencement, which Washington and his wife attended, a committee asked him to sit for his portrait to Charles Willson Peale to take the place of a portrait of George II destroyed by a cannon ball. This portrait is still in Nassau Hall, Princeton, and shown in the portrait section.

[2] An excerpt from this address appears in facsimile on page 92.

Washington's farewell to his officers in Fraunce's Tavern. *Alonzo Chappel.*

1. Fraunce's Tavern, Pearl and Broad Streets, New York City, as it looked to Washington, December 4, 1783.
2. On this date Washington bade good-bye to his officers.
3. At one time Fraunce's Tavern was thus commercialized.



Washington bidding adieu to his officers December 4, 1783, at the dock in New York.
© *Harper Bros.*

A silence fell upon the group. The officers accompanied their Commander to the water front, watched him embark, and waved their adieus until the boat reached the Jersey shore.

From New York Washington journeyed direct to Annapolis, Maryland, where—in the State House (now the Capitol)—Congress was then assembled. There General Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-

Washington surrendering his commission at Annapolis. *John Trumbull.*

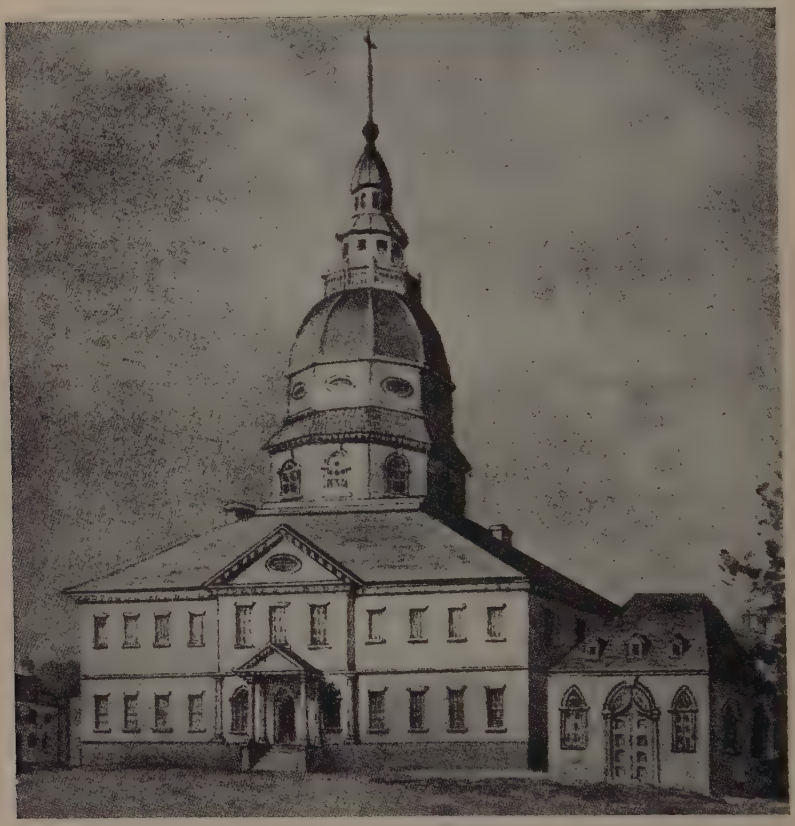
Chief of the American Army, on the twenty-third of December, 1783. His closing words to Congress were:

> "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take leave of all the employments of public life."

It is fairly well known that Washington accepted nothing for his services during those eight years of his command. It is not so well known that he spent much of his own private fortune in the necessary personal expenses incurred

Washington and his generals.

during those years; receiving, as reimbursement, depreciated currency worth but a fraction of the amount expended.[1]



Front view of the Annapolis State House.

General Washington's accounts, covering his expenses and disbursements for the government (including payments

[1] In the year following (1784), when his nephew, Fielding Lewis (son of his sister, Betty), importuned him for money, Washington wrote this illuminating reply:

"You very much mistake my circumstances when you suppose me in a condition to advance money. I made no money from my estate during the nine years. I was absent from it, and brought none home with me. Those who owed me took advantage of the depreciation, and paid me off with sixpence on the pound."

to secret service agents within the enemy lines) from June 22, 1775, to July 1, 1783, are, in part, reproduced herein.[1] These accounts were personally balanced, written and signed by General Washington. It is safe to assert that no certified public accountant of the twentieth century could excel them in point of accuracy and execution.

Rear view of the Annapolis State House, where Washington resigned his army commission to Congress, December 23, 1783.

As a "human document" this statement of expenditures is distinctly worthy of close attention. The occasional memoranda appended, often in the form of footnotes, are especially rich in interest, throwing illuminating side-lights on Washington's character. One of these relates to an untraceable cash transaction, of which he writes:

[1] See facsimile, pages 105–109.

"This sum stands in my accounts as a credit to the public—but I can find no charge of it against me in any of the public offices. Where the mistake lies I know not, but wish it could be ascertained, as I have no desire to injure or be injured."

Another memorandum minutely explains why he considers that the Government should refund the expense attending Mrs. Washington's visits to Headquarters:

"Although I kept memos. of these expenditures, I did not introduce them into my public accounts as they

The old Senate Gallery in the State Capitol, at Annapolis.

occurred. The reason was, it appeared at first view, in the commencement of them, to have the complexion of a private charge. I had my doubts, therefore, of the propriety of making it. But the peculiar circumstances attending my command, and the embarrassed condition of our public affairs, which obliged me (to the no small detriment of my private interest) to postpone the visit I every year contemplated to make my family between the close of one campaign and opening of another—and as this expense was incidental thereto and (in) consequence of my self-denial, I have—as of right I think I

From the enquiries which have already been made of you, relatively to my farms at Mount Vernon, I take the liberty of sending you the terms on which I mean to lease them. — My expectation of disposing of them at the Rents therein mentioned, to such tenants as I should chuse, is not very sanguine; nor would I incline to do it to the shiverly farmers of this country, if I had a tolerably well founded hope of getting them from any other, where husbandry is better understood and more rationally practiced, the mention of which to some of your acquaintance as you may chance to fall in with them (particularly English & Scotch, the latter more especially) might be a means perhaps of your suggesting it to others, in the land they can from.

It is not my intention, at least at the present moment, to let the Negroes go with the Land; but if enquiries on this head should be repeated, it might be useful to me, to learn on what terms these, and the lands conjointly, could be disposed of. —

(Private)

(*) Besides these, I have another motive which makes me earnestly wish for the accomplishment of these things — it is indeed more powerful than all the rest, namely to liberate a certain species of property which I possess, very repugnantly to my own feelings; but which experience, necessity compels; & until I can substitute some other expedient, by which expences not in my power to avoid (however well disposed I may be to do it) ~~can~~ can be defrayed

Letter from Washington to his secretary, Tobias Lear, referring to finances and the leasing of part of Mount Vernon.
© *W. K. Bixby, St. Louis.*

ought—upon due consideration adjudged the charge as just with respect to the public, as it is convenient with respect to myself; and I make it with less reluctance as I find, upon the final adjustment of these accts. (which have, as will appear, been long unsettled), that I am a considerable loser, my disbursements falling a good deal short of my receipts and the money I had upon hand of my own. For besides the sum I carried with me to Cambridge in 1775. . . . I received monies afterwards on private accounts in 1777 and since, which —except small sums which I had occasion now and then to apply to private uses, were all expended in the public service. And through hurry, I suppose, and the perplexity of business (for I know not how else to account for the deficiency), I have omitted to charge—while every debit against *me* is here credited.

"G. Washington.

"July 1, 1782."

While the Revolutionary War lasted, in the official sense, eight years, the struggle actually began January 18, 1770, in a skirmish between the Sons of Liberty and the British regulars at Golden Hill,[1] New York City—where the first blood of the Revolution was shed, a Quaker and two Sons of Liberty being wounded. In May, 1771, occurred the battle of Alamance Creek, between the Regulators of North Carolina and Governor Tryon's troops. The first blood drawn in Massachusetts flowed at Salem Bridge, February 25, 1775; and two months later the real war began at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts.

One of the last conflicts was on St. James' Island, South Carolina, in August, 1782, when a company of Americans, under Captain Wilmott, attacked and defeated a detachment of British. In the following month, September 11, the last skirmish occurred at Fort Henry, Wheeling,

[1] Near the corner of John and William Streets.

Gener.l Statement (52

Years 1775, 6, 7, 8 & 9 — and for 1780, 1, 2, & 3

		Doll.rs	Lawful		
1775 a 1777	By amount of several sums received p.r Acct. to the date hereof		£9126	7	9
1783 July 1	By Ditto received since to the present date	160,074	£6450	7	–
	By 160,074 Dollars turned into Lawful money by the Scale of depreciation adopted by Congress as follows — viz.				

When Rec.d Year	Month	Dollars Numb.	Dollars Pr.ce	Value in Lawf. Mon.	When Rec.d Year	Month	Dollars Num.	Dollars Pr.ce	Value in Lawf. Mon.
1777	Feb.y	2610	2610	£782 10 0	1780	Aug.t	28710	144	£4989 18 0
	Apr.	1000	1000	300 —		Apr.l	2000	180	52 —
	May	1000	1000	300 —		June	3000	220	66 12 —
	July	1000	1000	300 —		Sept.	2000	110	32 —
		1000	1000	300 —		Nov.	3000	129	38 14 —
	Aug.	500	500	150 —		Dec.	3000	114	34 4 —
		1000	1000	300 —	1781	Jan.y	3000	102	30 12 —
	Oct.	1000	911	273 6 —		Feb.	5000	130	39 — —
		1000	911	273 6 —		Mar.	3000	78	23 8 —
	Dec	1000	764	226 4 —			3000	75	22 10 —
1778	Jan.	2000	1370	411 — —		Apr.l	3000	75	22 10 —
		1000	685	205 10 —		May	4000	100	30 —
	Apr.l	1000	497	146 2 —			4800	120	36 —
	May	2000	868	260 8 —		June	4200	108	32 8 —
	June	2000	756	226 16 —			10,000	250	75 — —
	Aug.	2000	574	172 4 —		Aug.	5000	125	37 10 —
		100	29	8 14		Sept.	8000	200	60 — —
	Sept.	1000	250	75 —			5000	125	37 10 —
	Nov.	2000	366	109 18 —		Nov.	1000	25	7 10 —
	Dec	2000	314	94 4 —	1782	Feb.	9264	231	69 6 —
1779	Mar.	2000	200	60 — —		Mar.	30,000	750	225 — —
		500	50	15 — —		May	20,000	500	150 — —
		28710	144	2989 18 0			160,074	40,39	Am.t £ 6114 14 0.

1783 July 1 By Bal.e due G. Washington Acc.t to Mon. Acc. folio 65 — £160 8 4.

£ 16311 17 1.

Note. 160,364 of the above Dollars were received after March 1780 — and altho credited at 40 for 1 many of them did not fetch 1 for a hundred — While 27,775 of them are valued and deducted any thing from the above 160,074 G. Washington

Summary of Washington's eight-year account, from June, 1775, to July, 1783, made by Washington.

Excerpts from Washington's accounts.

[106]

33) Dr. The United States ... in account with ... G. Washington ... Cr. (34

		Dollars	Lawful		
1779 Oct.	To amount brd forward	36,099	2371	4	4
Nov 6	To Major Gibbs ... Pr Exp.	3000			
Dec 23	Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
1780 Jan 29	To Major Gibbs ... Pr Exp.	3000			
March	Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
28	Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
Apr 14	Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
No. 66	To Expences of the Quarter Mas. Genl. by Pertnership	100	7	12	6
May 2	To Major Gibbs ... Pr Exp.	4000			
13	Ditto ... Do	4800			
June 1	Ditto ... Do	4300			
15	To Expenditures while the Army was moving ab. Springfield & the Army about Elizabeth Town		36	15	—
May 20	To Major Gibbs ... Pr Exp.	5000			
29	To Col. Graham of the York State Troops p. Acc.		42	12	1
July 22	To Col. Meade's disbursements p. Acc. rendered pr. dis. 1505 Dollars getting rest to be credited by Mr. Fields in his Acc.	10,000			
11	To Richd. Humphreys's acc. p. Col. Mobbs's Receipt ... £53.10.0 ded. Lib. of Stock 10 14		42	16	
15	To the Expence of a Recruiting Party as Ar. as the Town of Berger ... into the Rock		12	15	—
Aug. 27	To Major Gibbs ... Pr Exp.	5000			
Nov	To Col. Meade's Acc. of his Expenditures to Hartford after Invest. to meet the Count de Rochambeau ... Rhode Island & de Barras ... Boston 4 16 8 Rct. to Qr. Mr. Gibbs & credited in his Acc.	8000			
	Carr. forward	95,099	2483	9	11

		Dol.	Lawful		
1779 Dec.	By amount brd forward	23,710	1824	7	0
Nov.	By the Paymaster General upon a warrant	3000			
Dec 2	By Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
1780 Jan 29	By Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
Feb 4	By Ditto ... Ditto	5000			
March	By Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
28	By Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
Apr 13	By Ditto ... Ditto	3000			
May 2	By Ditto ... Ditto	4000			
13	By Ditto ... Ditto	4800			
*	By Cash		133	16	
June 1	By the Paymaster General upon warr.	4800			
15	By Ditto ... Ditto	10000			
Aug 20	By Ditto ... Ditto	5000			
Sept 14	By Ditto ... Ditto	9000			
27	By Ditto ... Ditto	5000			
	Carr. forward	99,510	1958	9	—

* This sum stands in my acc. as a credit to the Public — but I can find no charge of it upon the Public officer — & here the mistake lies I know not but wish it may be explained, as I have no desire to injure or be injured.

53) Recapitulation ... of the Accounts for the

	Dollars	Lawful		
To Household Expences (Exclusive of the Provisions had from the Commissaries & Contractors — and liquors &c. from the Cellars). viz. Mr. Austins Acc. for £496.4.4 Mr. Smiths Do. 2 £563.12.8 Cr. by Do. 422.16 Major Gibbs's ... 3 489.6 Capt. Colgan ... 4 1987.15	65990 3260	3387	14	4
Total of the Expenditures	69,250	3387	14	4
Expended for Secret Intelligence — * —	7617	1982	10	—
Ditto in Reconnoitering — for travelling — sometimes with & sometimes without the Army — but generally with a Party of Horse	42,755	1875	8	8
Miscellaneous charges amounts p. Acc. &c.	40,257	2952	10	1
Total	160,074	10,197	3	1
To 160,074 Dollars extended in Lawful Money according to the Scale of depreciation p. Contra		6114	14	—
Expenditures of 8 Years		£16311	17	1

* 200 Guineas advanced by Mr. Morris for the Use of the purpose is not included in this sum as I have had no central office for receiving of the Application. —

65) Dr. The United States ... in Acct. with ... G. Washington ... Cr. (24

			Lawful		
1783. July 1	To Balance from Folio 50		£620	8	4
	To Interest of £1699 in my hands the Balance due me on 8th 1776 — These accounts have been applied to Publicans in the preceding page — from thence to 4th July 1775 — charge Mr at 6 p. Cent p. ann		288	—	
	To Mr Washington's Bounty Capt in compliance to return for my Winter Quarters Price received — The Money to defray which has been taken from my private Purse, by a Gentleman brother from Virginia .. *		1064	1	0
		£	1972	9	4

		Dollars	Lawful		
1777 Jan.	By Cash of Robt. Morris Esq. in specie p. Acct.		£124	7	8
Feb. 14	By Paper Dollars of Maj. Genl. Sullivan — being the Balance of Money put into his hands to pay the Bounty of Crew of the Eastern Rangers at Boston — in Apr. last	2610			
Apr. 11	By Cash of the Paymaster General	1000			
	By Ditto — from Ditto	1000			
	Am. carried forwd.	4610	£124	7	8

which I do pay & Gibbs will be found credited in his Book of great it as a Donation

* altho' I kept Memorandums of these Expenditures I did not introduce them into my Public accounts as they occurred — the reason was, it appeared at first view, in the commencement of them, to have the complexion of a private charge — I had my doubts therefore of the propriety of making it — But the peculiar circumstances attending my Command, and the embarrassed situation of our Public affairs which probably may be (to the no small detriment of my private interest) for past, for the most part every year contrary to what I made my Family believe the Expense of one campaign and defraying of another — and as this expence was incidental thereto, & consequently of my self, I made it a Charge, as of right I think it ought, upon due consideration adjudged the charge as just & with respect to the Public as it is connected with respect to myself; and I make it at the Prime cost price as I find upon the final adjustment of these accts (which I am, at this place, have not settled) that I am a considerable loser — Mv

J) Dr. The United States ... in Acct.

		Pency	Lawful		
1775 June. No 1	To the purchase of five Horses (two of which were had on credit from Mr James Mease) to equip me for my journey to the Army at Cambridge & for the service I was then going upon — have up sent my Chariot and Horses back to Virginia	£239 —			
22 No 2	To a light Phaeton bought of Robt Renaud at	55 —			
3	To double Harness bought from Mr Todd	7.15 —			
4	To Cash paid for Saddery, a letter Case, Maps, Shapes, &c &c &c for the use of my Command	29.13.6			
5	To Mr Perry & Kennedy for keeping the above Horses	5.6.2			
July No 6	To the acct of Thomas Mifflin Esq. for Money expended by him in the journey from Philadelphia to Cambridge in which the Expences of General Lee, Col. Reed &c were included	129 8.2			
	Am. carried forwd.	£466.2.10			

39) Dr. The United States ... in acct.

		Dollars	Lawful		
1782. Sep. 6.	To amount brought forward ...	132,281	8207	10	11
	To Household Expences from the close of Mr. Pitt's acct. Nov. 1781 till the commencement of the campaign of 1782 by Dr. Colfax's acct. of Sept. 1781 — amounts from the best accounts & estimates that can be had & from recollection, for: Sundry of the Rank and others, by tavern & a little Salt & Nasty at the Hands of the Purchaser for that purpose) to at least *		800		
	Carried forward	132,281	8207	10	11

* This business during the above interval was in such a variety of hands for want of a proper steward, & others endeavoured to obtain, by my accounts were not only kept but many of their accounts were lost or mislaid, & some of them so defaced as not to be legible, that it is impossible for me to make out a statement of them; but at a correspondent that place at time was such the Jersey & American armies formed one camp at Philipsburgh & our expences were at the highest, and as this has arrived as nearly, as can be expected with the vouchers, & month's work after by Lieut. Dr. Colfax's acct. since — The above sum is stated under these circumstances, upon the principle which seems most equitable to do justice to the public, and no injustice to myself.

Excerpts from Washington's accounts.

[108]

with ..... G. Washington ... 6th (50)

		Dollars	Lawful		
1783 June	By amount brought forward	160,074	6450	7	—
Jan. 1 1785	By Balance due to Washington for occasional expenses 65		620	8	4
		160,074	7070	15	4

Note, Before these accounts are finally closed, justice and propriety call upon me to bring to mind that there are persons with the British lines — if they are not dead or removed, who have claims upon the public under the strongest assurances of compensation from me for their services & conveying the private intelligence, and which I then contributed, & that I may be in honor bound to pay. —

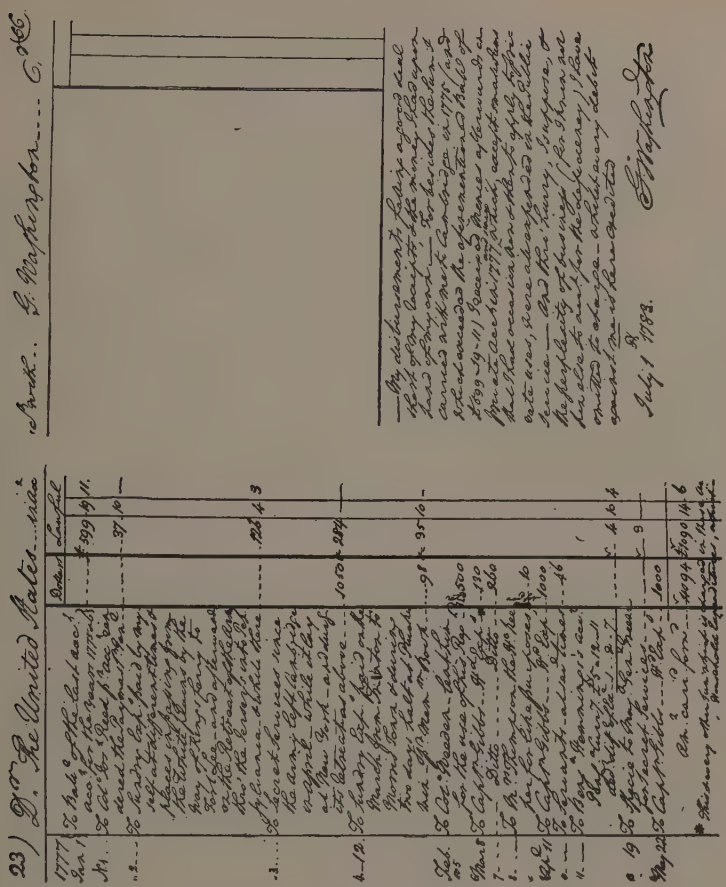
Why these claims have not made their appearance are the unknown of the causes alias mentioned — or from a disinclination or fear to come forward, lest the proceeding is entirely removed from the United States, I know not — But I have thought it as incumbent duty on me to bring the matter to view that it may be held in remembrance in case such claims should hereafter appear

G. W.

3) Dr. The United States ... in a.

		Pounds	Lawful		
1775 July	To amount brought forward	366.2.4			
17	To sundry sums paid by myself in the aforesaid journey — amounting to		94	8	3
23	To Dr. Hardanks acct.		2	8	
9	To Sam. Griffin Esq.	1.15.4			
	To the Expences of myself & party reconnoitring the sea coast east of Boston Harbor		18	13	2
15	To 333⅓ Dollars given to ——— * to induce him to go into the town of Boston, & establish a secret correspondence for the purpose of discovering intelligence of the Enemy's movements & designs		100	—	
12	To Cash paid for cleaning the House & chickens, provided for my Lacteur & the back house occupied by the marblehead men		2	10	9
19	To Ditto to Dr. Eben Austin the steward for House hold Expences †		10	—	
24	To Ditto — paid a Barrel Pork		2	5	—
	To Ditto — paid Dr. Austin for Household Expences		2		
	Am. carried forward £	467.18.2	772	5	2

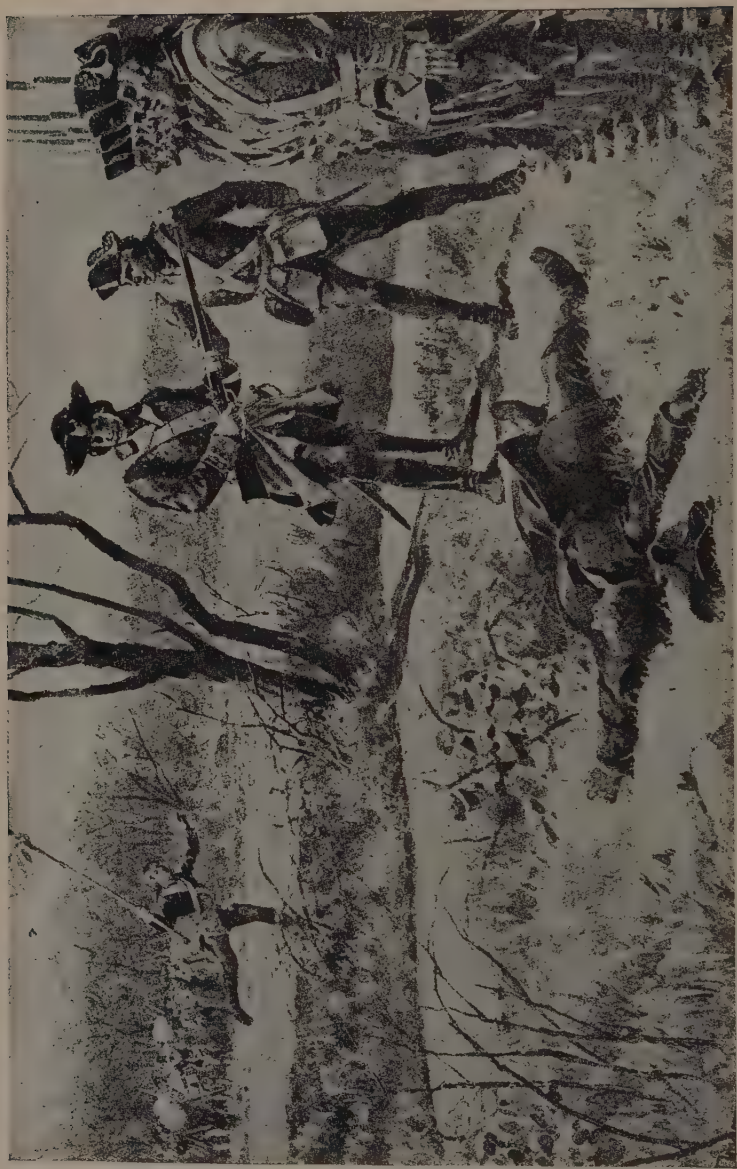
* The names of Persons who were employed within the Enemy's Lines, or the Boy fair within their Lines, cannot be inserted



Excerpts from Washington's accounts.

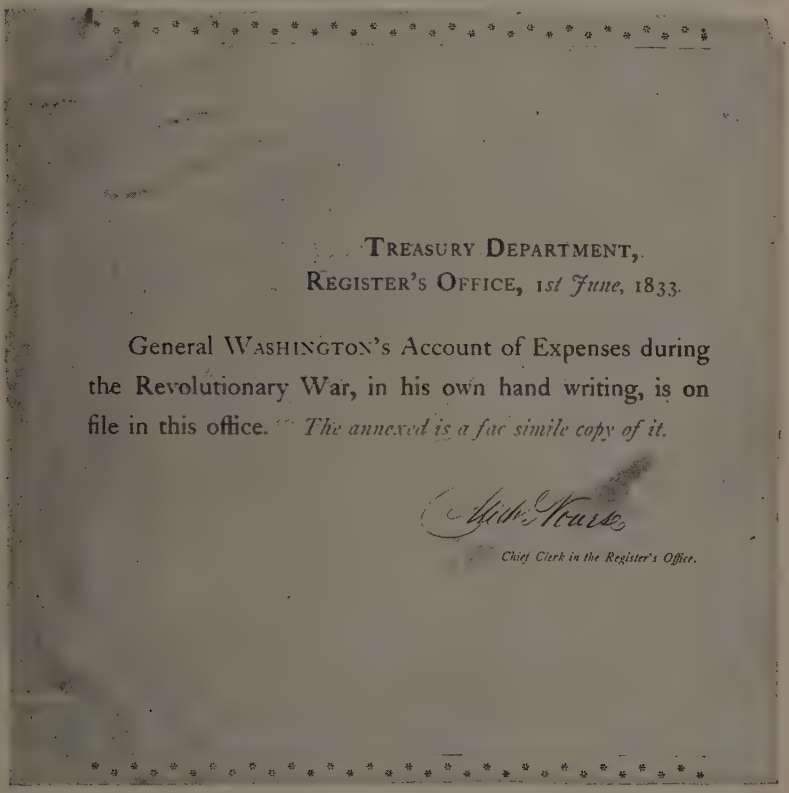
Va., when Colonists, from within the walls of the fort, repulsed the British and their Indian allies. When ammunition ran low, heroic Elizabeth Kane saved the day by running through a hail of bullets with her apron full of powder. Thus the actual record of conflict and bloodshed extended over twelve years.

There were twenty-four engagements in South Carolina, seventeen in New York State, nine in New Jersey, seven in



First engagement of the Revolution at Alamance Creek, Alamance, N. C. © *Jones Bros. Publishing Co.*

Pennsylvania, five in Virginia, four in Georgia, four in North Carolina, two in Massachusetts, two in Connecticut, one in Vermont, one in Delaware, one in Rhode Island, one in Maine, and several in Canada.



TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
REGISTER'S OFFICE, *1st June*, 1833.

General WASHINGTON's Account of Expenses during the Revolutionary War, in his own hand writing, is on file in this office. *The annexed is a fac simile copy of it.*

Chief Clerk in the Register's Office.

It is some ninety years since this facsimile of Washington's account was traced and engraved from the original.

General Washington commanded but nine of these engagements in person, and personally won but three *pitched* battles—Trenton, Princeton and Yorktown. But numerous battles were under his immediate direction. Many brief but sharp conflicts were commanded by officers of lower

rank—colonels, majors and captains; and there were numberless unimportant skirmishes similarly officered.

1. The Miller house, Washington's headquarters at White Plains, New York.
2. Washington's headquarters at Tappan Zee.

Washington revealed remarkable strategic skill in the siege of Boston, when, with little damage to the city and

Fort Henry, Wheeling, Va., scene of the last battle of the Revolution.

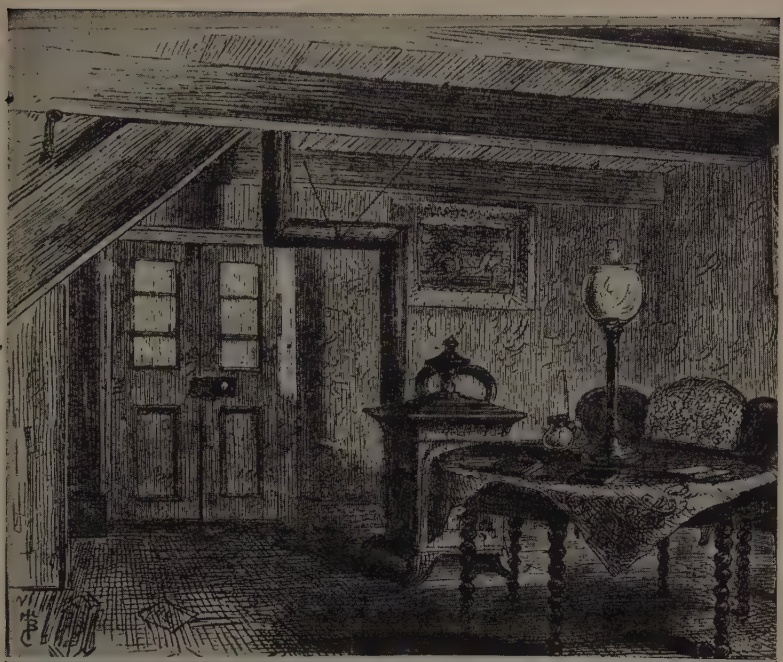
insignificant loss of life, he forced General Howe's evacuation. Even more remarkable was his "bottling up" of the British in New York and Rhode Island in 1778–1780, a feat little noticed by historians; although Washington succeeded in keeping forty thousand British troops inactive in those regions while he smote the frontier Indians, discouraged future invasions from Canada, received reinforcements from France, and made Yorktown possible. The importance of the Sullivan expedition in 1779 can hardly be overestimated; it has seldom received its due.

Washington carried heavy burdens, in addition to those of actual warfare: an obstinate and frequently hostile Congress; an impoverished treasury; a discontented army—which, owing to short-term enlistments, often underwent an entire change of personnel, sometimes even when facing the enemy; treachery, mutiny—a hundred oppositional influences. He conquered them all—and carried the burden without faltering to the end.

The cost of the Revolutionary War, when compared with the cost of the World War to America,[1] was a bagatelle. Jefferson's computation was the highest—one hundred and forty million dollars. From other and seemingly reliable sources, the figures gleaned are: eighty-two million dollars to the Central Government, plus twenty million dollars to the States. At the close of the war, the United States was in debt to the amount of forty-two million dollars; which some financiers of that day considered too stupendous an obligation ever to be paid in full.

[1] The cost of the World War to the United States was over twenty-two billion dollars ($22,000,000,000), or one million dollars per hour for over two years. Its entire cost to all nations was one hundred and eighty-six billion dollars ($186,000,000,000).

In loss of human life, the World War, beginning in 1914, far outranked all other recorded wars; aggregating nine million, nine hundred and ninety-eight thousand, seven hundred and seventy-one; or one one-hundred-and-fiftieth of the population of the entire world.



1. Washington's headquarters at Fort Lee.
2. Washington's headquarters at Tappan.

© *Charles Scribner's Sons.*

WAR DEPARTMENT

FAA/hsc-255.

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

IN REPLY REFER TO A.G. 055.2 (11-26-24) Exec. WASHINGTON

November 29, 1924.

Mr. Joseph D. Sawyer,
39 Cortlandt Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

In response to your letter of November 26, in which you request to be furnished with information concerning casualties in the Revolutionary War, I am directed by the Secretary of War to advise you as follows:

Owing to the paucity and incompleteness of the military records of the Revolutionary War, it is found to be impossible to furnish an accurate statement of the number of casualties suffered by the American Army during that war. Available statistics, compiled from records on file in the State. and War Departments and from authoritative historical documents, show that at least 4,044 American soldiers were killed, 6,004 wounded, 2,124 reported as missing in action, and 6,642 captured by the enemy. The actual number of casualties doubtless exceeds these figures considerably. No statistics are available on deaths by natural causes in the American Army during the period of the Revolutionary War, nor does the Department know of any authoritative estimate on the subject.

The War Department has no statistics relative to the losses of the French and British armies during the Revolutionary War.

Very truly yours,

Robert C. Davis

Major General,
The Adjutant General.

Letter from the War Department, giving statistics on the Revolutionary War.

The American struggle for independence was not won exclusively by patriots born on American soil. Brave volunteers from other countries fought tirelessly in the van with sword, pen and money.[1] Hamilton, from the West Indies; von Steuben, from Prussia; Lafayette, from France; Paul Jones, from Scotland; De Kalb, Pulaski, Kosciusko and many others were among the valiant souls who believed profoundly in America's right to freedom and gladly fought for it—some of them to the death. The "Little Green Isle" gave Sullivan, Thomson, and scores beside—many of them unknown to fame—to the cause of their adopted country; and—perhaps most remarkable of all—from far-off Poland came Haym Salomon, the Jew, who had much to do with the finances of the Revolution. Born at Lissa, Poland, in 1740, he arrived in the New World in 1771—four years before the Lexington skirmish. The French appointed him treasurer of their army in America, and he became the financial intermediary between the United States and France. The diary of Robert Morris (born in England)—the treasurer of the Revolution—has disclosed over seventy transactions in Salomon's name. Washington knew him well, and highly esteemed his judgment. Salomon loaned Robert Morris from his own pocket $600,000.00 for the Revolutionary cause, and up to the time of his death only $200,000.00 had been returned.

[1] Large numbers of the English also fought under Washington.

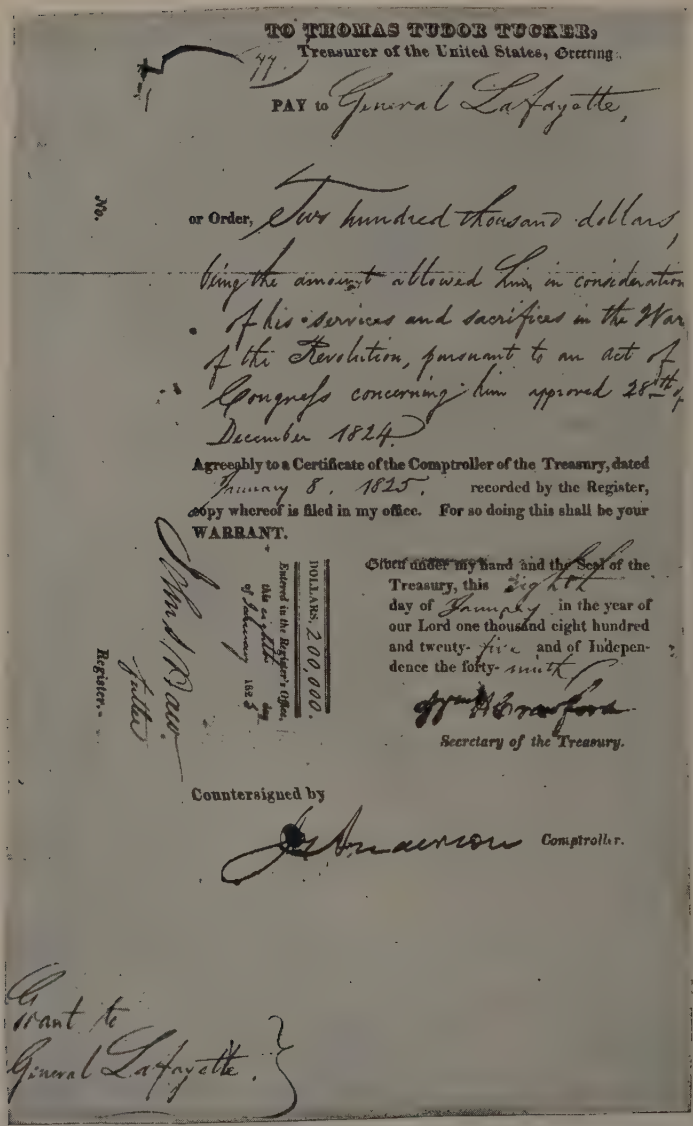
CHAPTER XXXIII

AFTER THE WAR. RIOTS AND REBELLIONS. A FIRMER GOVERNMENT THE NEED OF THE HOUR. ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI. WASHINGTON AGAIN IN THE ARENA. THE CONSTITUTION. THE UNITED STATES HAS ITS FIRST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT-ELECT

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR was over. After eight years and a half of faithful, self-sacrificing and distinguished service, the victorious Commander-in-Chief of the American Army had laid aside his sword and returned to the peace and happiness of family life amid the Arcadian charms of his beloved Mount Vernon.

After years spent amid the desolations of war, or in being harried from pillar to post by exigent conditions or the autocratic commands of Congress, the tranquil atmosphere of his Virginia home must have seemed idyllic indeed to the worn and weary Washington. Once again he was, simply, Master of Mount Vernon—answerable to no man but himself. The amiable companion of his domestic joys and sorrows was with him; the spacious halls of the charming Manor House rang with the artless prattle, the silvery laughter, of their two adopted children—dainty Nelly and the baby George; those of the family and the neighborhood friends whom the war had spared were within visiting distance. Now he could pick up the dropped threads of the rural life that he loved—could weave of them a beautiful fabric for the comfort and consolation of his declining years, when, in due course, they should arrive. That, in effect, was Washington's dream. As he wrote to his friend,

The Day's Beginning © *J. L. G. Ferris.*



TO THOMAS TUDOR TUCKER,
Treasurer of the United States, Greeting:

PAY to General Lafayette,

or Order, Two hundred thousand dollars, being the amount allowed him, in consideration of his services and sacrifices in the War of the Revolution, pursuant to an act of Congress concerning him approved 28th of December 1824.

Agreeably to a Certificate of the Comptroller of the Treasury, dated January 8, 1825, recorded by the Register, copy whereof is filed in my office. For so doing this shall be your WARRANT.

Given under my hand and the Seal of the Treasury, this Eighth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five and of Independence the forty-ninth

Wm H Crawford
Secretary of the Treasury.

DOLLARS, 200,000.
Entered in the Register's Office, this eighth day of January 1825.

Countersigned by
J. Anderson Comptroller.

Register.

Grant to General Lafayette.

Grant of two hundred thousand dollars to Lafayette by Act of Congress. Though regularly granted in December, 1824, when Lafayette again visited America this amount was curtailed.

1. On this field at Newburgh the Revolutionary army disbanded.

2. Washington taking leave of the rank and file of the army at Newburgh, October, 1783.

3. Monument commemorating the founding of the Order of the Cincinnati at Newburgh, N. Y., October 10, 1783.

the Marquis de Lafayette, now returned to his native France:[1]

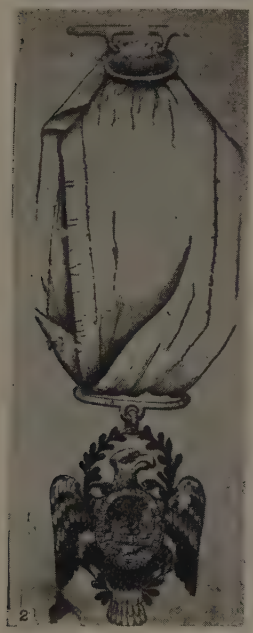
> "I have not only retired from all public employment, but I am retiring within myself. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life until I sleep with my fathers."

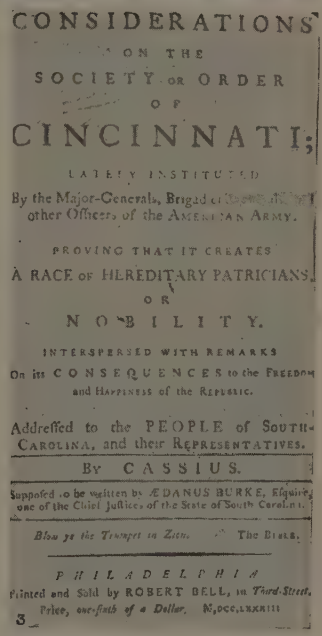
But the time had not come for this happy fulfilment of his life-long dream. The quiet seclusion for which he longed

Member's Certificate of the Order of the Cincinnati, signed by George Washington, as president.

was not to be the destiny of the illustrious Washington. At all events, not for long. Hardly had he settled down to the day-by-day routine of an industrious Virginia planter striving to retrieve his fallen fortunes,—with such pleasant interludes as were afforded by fishing, fox-hunting, visiting,

[1] November 30, 1784, Washington and Lafayette parted. Washington wrote: "I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I ever should have of you, and though I wished to say 'No,' my fears answered 'Yes.'"





CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
SOCIETY OR ORDER
OF
CINCINNATI;
LATELY INSTITUTED
By the Major-Generals, Brigadiers and other Officers of the AMERICAN ARMY.

PROVING THAT IT CREATES
A RACE OF HEREDITARY PATRICIANS,
OR
NOBILITY.

INTERSPERSED WITH REMARKS
On its CONSEQUENCES to the FREEDOM and HAPPINESS of the REPUBLIC.

Addressed to the PEOPLE of SOUTH-CAROLINA, and their REPRESENTATIVES.

BY CASSIUS.

Supposed to be written by ÆDANUS BURKE, Esquire, one of the Chief Justices of the State of South Carolina.

Blow ye the Trumpet in Zion. The BIBLE.

PHILADELPHIA
Printed and Sold by ROBERT BELL, in *Third-Street.*
Price, *one-fifth of a Dollar.* M,DCC,LXXXIII

1. Diploma of the Order of the Cincinnati.
2. Badge of the Order of the Cincinnati.
3. Brochure by jealous opponents, decrying the Order of the Cincinnati.

cards, travel[1] and other favorite diversions,—when the perilous state of the infant nation began to clamor for the attention of every true patriot. The war of the Revolution was in the past; but already looming on the horizon was another war, equally disastrous—the war of political factions. Washington was soon forced into this vortex of dissension and unrest.

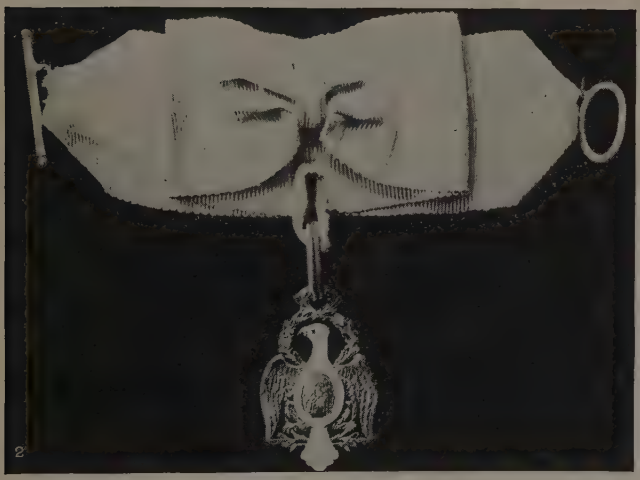
He had, in fact, long foreseen just such a climax to the inevitable post-war reaction, and had embodied his views in a letter addressed to the States and laid before Congress while peace negotiations were still pending—a letter specifying the four essentials for the stabilization of the United States:

> "An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head; a sacred regard for public justice; the adoption of a proper peace establishment; and the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget local politics, to make mutual concessions requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community."[2]

[1] In 1785 Washington journeyed to Newburgh, and there founded the Order of the Cincinnati, a fraternity of officers who had served three years or more in the war; the perpetuation of which was to be entrusted to their descendants, and to the descendants of all officers who had served to the end of the war (even if less than three years), as well as of those who had given their lives in battle. The Order was founded especially to perpetuate comradeship among those who had fought in a common cause, and to serve as a benevolent society for its members and their descendants; yet certain malcontents fulminated bitterly over its establishment, pouring out vials of wrath on the heads of General Washington and his officers; and one of them published, over the nom de plume "Cassius," a pamphlet designed to prove that the Order tended to create "a race of hereditary patricians." See page 123.

Somewhat earlier, General Washington, accompanied by Governor Clinton, went on a tour through Northern New York, travelling seven hundred and fifty miles in nineteen days. In the course of this trip, Washington sought, unsuccessfully, to purchase a large tract of land in Saratoga, predicting a roseate future for the now famous Springs.

[2] This letter received the endorsement of a Congressional Committee consisting of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and Theodore Bland.



1. Diamond inset insignia of the Order of the Cincinnati, presented to Washington by French officers.

2. Insignia presented to Tench Tilghman by General Washington.

Early in the conflict of opinions among the thirteen inharmonious State sovereignties, Washington—with incisive logic—revealed the difficulties of the situation in a letter to Benjamin Harrison:

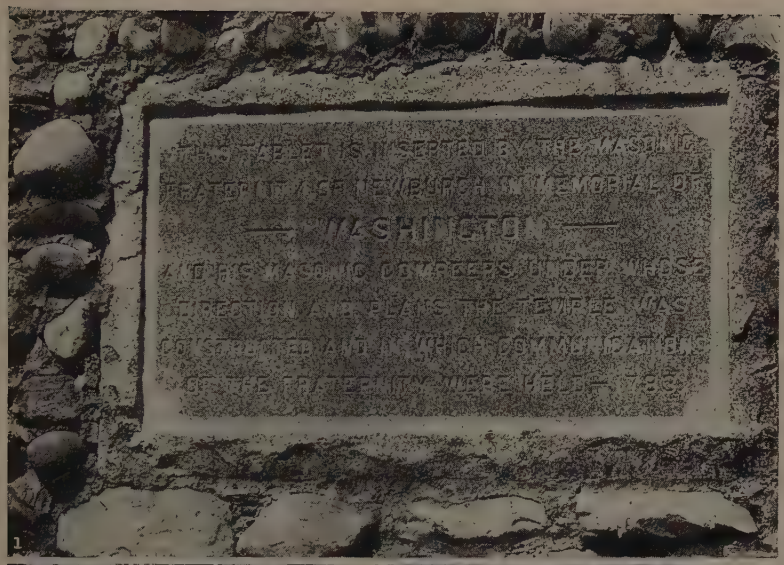
> "The disinclination of the individual States to yield competent powers to Congress for the Federal Government, their unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being all-wise and all-powerful within itself, will—if there is not a change in the system—be our downfall as a nation."

And again:

> "I believe all things will come right at last; but, like a young heir come a little prematurely to a large inheritance, we shall wanton and run riot until we have brought our reputation to the brink of ruin."

The years from 1784 to 1788 inclusive were years of deep thinking and bitter controversy among leading Americans; and Washington, realizing more keenly than most the gravity of the situation confronting the young nation, unhesitatingly assumed the new and vast responsibilities that were, from time to time, thrust upon him.

There was widespread dissatisfaction which had never been set entirely at rest since the termination of the war. Everyone was poor; the patriots who had generously given of their wealth to the cause of Liberty now lacked, in many cases, the actual necessities of life. There was land, but no money wherewith to cultivate it. The men who, as soldiers in the rank and file of the "ragged Continentals," had needed bread, still needed it as civilians—and were as ragged as ever. There is no devastation equal to that caused by the ravages of war; and want is no respecter of persons, in proof of which statement consider a



Tablets marking the monument at Newburgh, erected by the Order of the Cincinnati. *Courtesy of T. Savage Clay.*

letter written by Washington at this time to James Madison:

> "Can nothing be done in our Assembly for poor Paine? Must the merits and services of "Common Sense" continue to glide down the stream of time unrewarded by this country? His writings have certainly had a powerful effect upon the public mind. He is poor; he is chagrined, and almost in despair of relief."[1]

The States were flooded with irredeemable paper money, the purchasing power of which was greatly lessened. Soon there were riots in many cities. Shays' Rebellion, in Massachusetts, in 1786–7 was but one of several uprisings, though most of them were of lesser importance. In the midst of it, Washington —whose influence had been requested to allay the tumult— wrote:

Shays' Rebellion.

> "You talk, my good sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found; or, if attainable, that it would be the proper remedy for the disorders. *Influence is not government.*
>
> "Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."

Clearly, something had to be done, and done quickly, as every thoughtful man in the Thirteen States, in Congress and out of it, recognized. A meeting of Virginians at Mount

[1] Refer to Vol. I, page 382.

Vernon in 1786, called for the purpose of considering the question of the navigation of the Potomac, turned to the consideration of that far more momentous question, the navigation of the young Republic. As a result of this conference, the legislative body of Virginia authorized the Governor to suggest that a convention be held, to which each of the Thirteen States be invited to send representatives. The suggestion was acted upon, General Washington being appointed to represent Virginia. The convention assembled in the State House at Annapolis, Maryland, in September, 1786. Only six States sent delegates, however;—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia—and these went no further than to report a recommendation to Congress that a conference of all the States be summoned to meet in Philadelphia the following year.

In the meantime, the fever of unrest, coupled with a desire for some more stable form of government than the existing one, grew stronger and spread further day by day. Washington, writing to James Madison, expressed the thought of many of his fellow-countrymen:

> "How melancholy is the reflection that in so snort a time we should have made such large strides towards fulfilling the predictions of our trans-Atlantic foes, namely: "Leave them to themselves, and their government will soon dissolve." Will not the wise and good strive hard to avert this evil? . . .
>
> "The consequences of a lax or inefficient government are too obvious to be dwelt upon. Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole; whereas, a liberal and energetic Constitution, well checked and well watched to prevent encroachments, might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequence to which we had the fairest prospect of attaining."

Philadelphia 14 May 1787.

Convention.

On the 25th seven states being represented viz. New York New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina George Washington was elected (unanimously) president of the convention.

The convention appoint a committee to prepare and report rules for conducting business which were reported, debated, and in general agreed to on the 28th.

~~28th~~. 29.

Governor Randolph opened the ~~business~~ of the convention. He observed that the confederation fulfilled none of the objects for which it was framed. 1st It does not provide against foreign invasions. 2d It does not secure harmony to the states. 3d. It is incapable of producing certain blessings to the States. 4 It cannot defend itself against encroachments. 5th. It is not superior to state constitutions.

1st It does not provide against foreign invasion

If a state acts against a foreign power contrary to the laws of nations or violates a treaty, it cannot punish that state, or compel its obedience to the treaty. It can only leave the offending state to the operations of the offended power. It therefore cannot prevent a war. If the rights

Page from McHenry's unpublished diary.

In February 1787, Congress—in session at Philadelphia—acceded to the recommendation of the Annapolis convention, ordering a convention of delegates from all the States to be called on the second Monday in May for "the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, . . . and to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." A month later (March 25) Washington wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette:

> "Most of the legislatures have appointed, and the rest, it is said, will appoint, delegates to meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next, in a general convention of the States, to revise and correct the defects of the Federal system. Congress has also recognized and recommended the measure."

From that time on, pressure seems to have been brought upon Washington, from all sides, to assume greater responsibilities. As he had been—figuratively speaking—a modern Moses, leading the chosen people "out of the house of bondage," so now everyone appeared to look hopefully to him as the one man who could lead them through the wilderness into the "Promised Land" of harmony and prosperity. Under date of March 14, 1787, General Knox had written to him in these significant words:

> "I am persuaded that your name has had already great influence to induce the States to come into this measure, that your attendance will be grateful, that your presence will confer on the Assembly a national complexion, and that it would, more than any other circumstance, induce a compliance with the propositions of the Convention."

In accordance with the command of Congress, the Thirteen States had been requested to have their delegates present at the opening of the Convention in Philadelphia on

June — 1787.

Mr. Penn's Dr. & drank Tea there

Thursday 21st.

Attended Convention — Dined at Mr. Morgans, and spent the evening in my Chamber. —

Thursday — 28th

Attended Convention — Dined at Mr. Morris's in a large Company — (the news of his Wife being taken sled arriving last night & little Mal. appears) — Drank Tea there & spent the evening in my Chamber

Friday 29th

In Convention — Dined at Mr. Morris, and spent the evening there. —

Saturday 30th

Attended Convention — Dined with a club at Springbury, consisting of several associated families of the City — the Beaux men of which one every Saturday accompanied by the females of the families every other Saturday — this was the ladies day. —

July 1st.

Dined and spent the evening at home.

Facsimile of entries in Washington's diary, when at the Philadelphia Convention, in June and July, 1787.

Monday, May 14, 1787; but the entry in the diary of General Washington (who was present as deputy from Virginia) for that day states that only two States responded:

> "This being the day appointed for the Convention to meet, such members as were in town assembled at the State House, but, only two States being represented, viz: Virginia and Pennsylvania, agreed to attend at the same place at eleven o'clock to-morrow."

The fifteenth of May and the following eight days passed —and still no quorum; but on Friday, the twenty-fifth, Washington could write more encouragingly:

> "Another delegate coming from the State of New Jersey, gave it a representation, and increased the number to seven, which, forming a quorum of the thirteen, the members present resolved to organize a body; when, by a unanimous vote, I was called up to the chair as president . . . and a committee was chosen . . . to prepare rules and regulations for conducting the business. After appointing doorkeepers, the convention adjourned until Monday, to give time to the committee to report matters referred to them."[1]

Three days later he wrote:

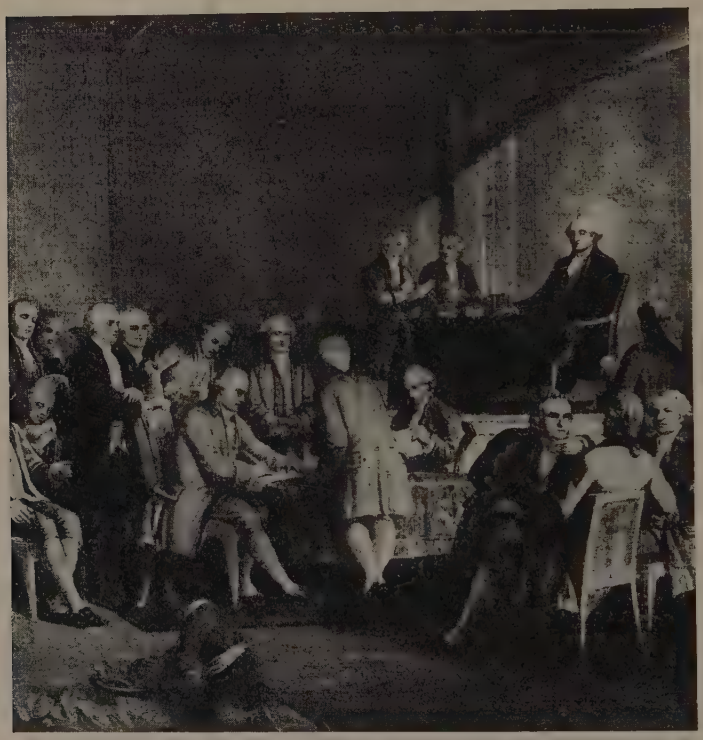
> "May 28, 1787. Met in convention at two o'clock. Massachusetts and Connecticut on the floor to-day. Established rules agreeable to the plan brought in by the committee, and adjourned. No communication without doors; i. e., nothing spoken in the House to be printed or communicated without leave."

To Dr. David Stewart, who had married the widow of John Parke Custis, Washington wrote—on the first of

[1] When elected to the chair of the Convention, Washington said:
"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

July—a thoughtful pen-picture of this crucial hour in the nation's destiny:

"Everybody wishes, everybody expects, something from the convention; but what will be the final result from its deliberations the Book of Fate must disclose.



Washington opening the Constitutional Convention in 1787.
Study By Rossiter.

Persuaded I am that the primary cause of an our disorders lies in the different State governments, and of the tenacity of that power which pervades the whole of their system."

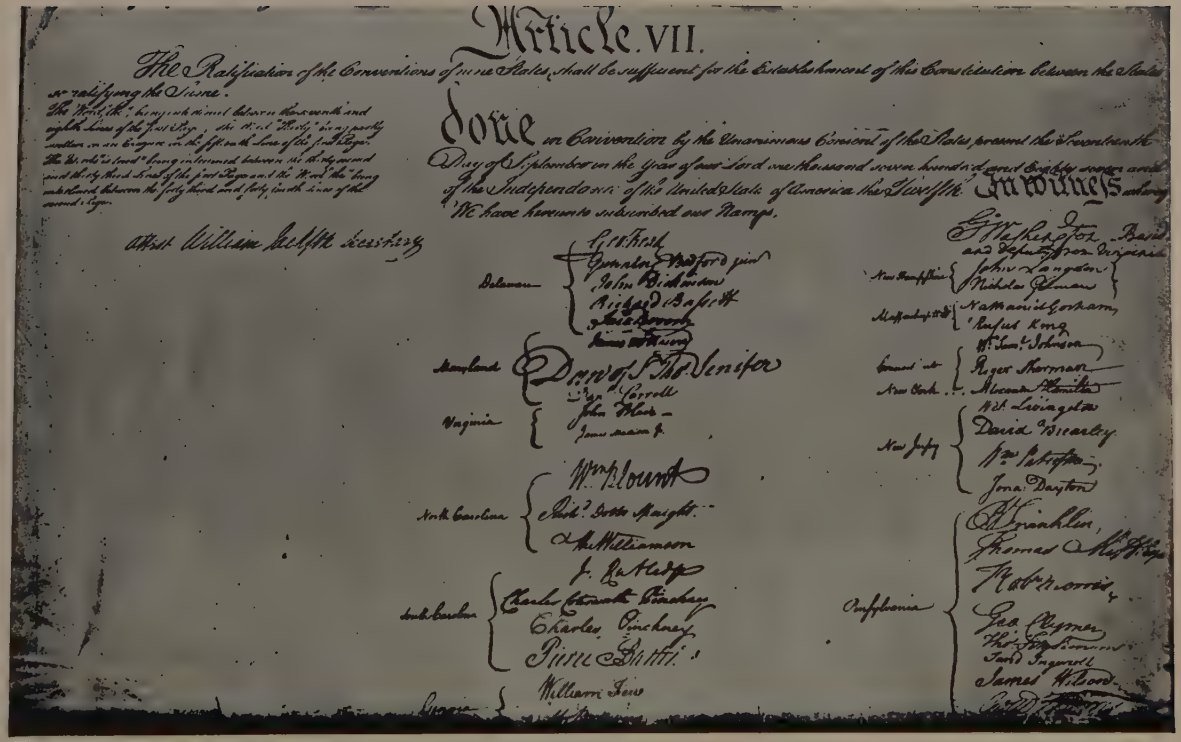
The Constitution of the United States—second in importance only to the Declaration of Independence—was ultimately completed. It had been drafted and re-drafted by the keenest and most logical minds in the United States; by men who had suffered with and for their country during her long struggle for the liberty so hardly won, and knew that only firm and wise guidance could save her from the rocks that threatened destruction. Yet they had not labored for four months without dissensions and disruptions. Hamilton left the convention in disgust after making an impassioned speech; and Washington wrote him, on the tenth of July 1787:

> "When I refer you to the state of the counsels that prevailed at the period you left this city, and add that they are now, if possible, in a worse train than ever, you will find but little ground on which the hope of a good establishment can be formed. In a word, I almost despair of seeing a favorable issue to the proceedings of our convention, and do therefore repent having had any agency in the business."

But eventually difficulties smoothed themselves out, Washington's influence, as president of the assembly, and the ripe wisdom of Benjamin Franklin's eighty-one years, having appreciable weight. The document, finally approved by various committees that had taken a hand in its preparation, was at length ready for signatures. General Washington, the first—because the presiding officer—to sign, voiced his opinion with pen in hand at this dramatic, intense, and pivotal moment:

> "Should the States reject this excellent Constitution,[1] the probability is that the opportunity will never

[1] There were eleven years of disjointed legislation before the sisterhood of states evolved America's Second Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence being the first. These half dozen lines, which opened the doorway to the Constitution, had the full indorsement of Washington, president of the Convention.


Article. VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

Attest William Jackson Secretary

G° Washington — President and Deputy from Virginia

Delaware: Geo: Read, Gunning Bedford jun, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom

Maryland: James McHenry, Dan of St Thos Jenifer, Daniel Carroll

Virginia: John Blair, James Madison Jr.

North Carolina: Wm Blount, Richd Dobbs Spaight, Hu Williamson

South Carolina: J. Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

Georgia: William Few, Abr Baldwin

New Hampshire: John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts: Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

Connecticut: Wm Saml Johnson, Roger Sherman

New York: Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey: Wm Livingston, David Brearley, Wm Paterson, Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania: B Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robt Morris, Geo Clymer, Tho FitzSimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouv Morris

The last Article in the Constitution, with signatures, the first signer being George Washington, President of the Convention. Constitution Day is coming into its own in this Sesquicentennial year. Special celebrations of this pivotal event occurred from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf, September 17, 1926.

be offered to cancel another in peace; the next will be drawn in blood."

When these words echoed in Independence Hall, the die was cast; the Ship of State was launched, with the following prelude:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The entry in Washington's diary for September 17, 1787, condenses in a few lines a record of tremendous significance in the history of—not America only, but civilization:

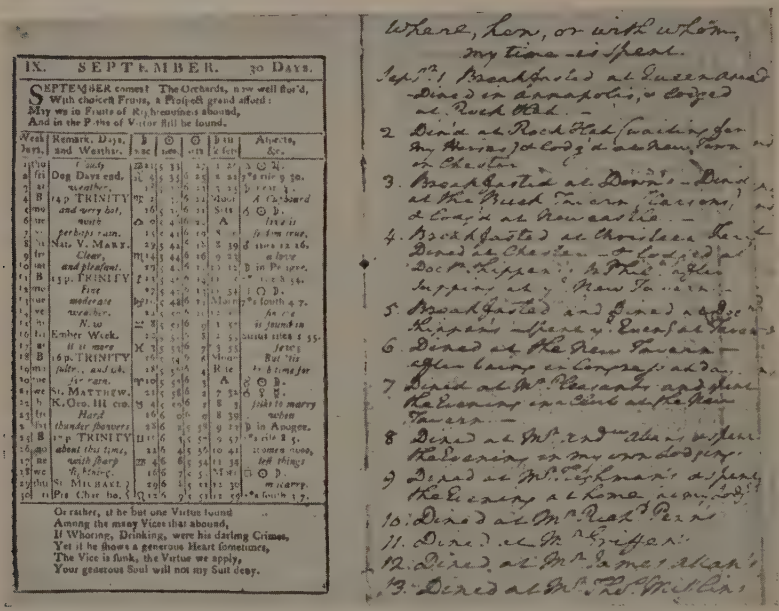
"Met in Convention, when the Constitution received the unanimous assent of eleven States and Col. Hamilton from New York (the only delegate from thence in Convention), and was subscribed to by every member present except Gov. Randolph and Col. Mason from Virginia, and Mr. Gerry from Massachusetts.

"The business being thus closed, the members adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other; after which I returned to my lodging, did some business with and received the papers from the secretary of the Convention, and retired to meditate on the momentous work which had been executed after not less than five, for a large part of the time six, and sometimes seven hours' sitting every day, except Sunday, and the ten days' adjournment to give the committee time to arrange the business, for more than four months."

In transmitting the Constitution to Congress, General Washington wrote:

> "The Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation renders indispensable."

The Constitutional Convention now being at an end, and Washington's work in Philadelphia finished—and well



IX. SEPTEMBER. 30 Days.

SEPTEMBER comes! The Orchards, now well stor'd,
With choicest Fruits, a Prospect grand afford:
May we in Fruits of Righteousness abound,
And in the Paths of Virtue still be found.

Week Days.	Remark. Days, and Weather.	☽	☉	♁	☽ in ☌ & ☍	Aspects, &c.
1	Tu	♎	5 33	6 25	1 25	☽ ☌ ♃.
2	We	Dog Days end.	5 34	6 23	2 21	☽ ☍ ♅ 3 ☌ ♄.
3	Th	weather.	5 35	6 21	3 53	☽ ☍ ♅ 3 ☌ ♄.
4	F	14 p. TRINITY	♏ 2	6 20	About	A Cold-board
5	Sa	and very hot,	5 36	6 18	5 18	☽ ☌ ☉.
6	Su	quite	♎ 9	6 16	A	Inveigh
7	M	perhaps rain.	5 38	6 14	6 10	against him true.
8	Tu	Nat. V. MARY.	5 39	6 12	7 39	☽ ☍ ♅ 12 16.
9	We	Clear,	♏ 5	6 10	8 53	a force
10	Th	and pleasant.	5 41	6 8	10 12	☽ in Perigee.
11	F	15 p. TRINITY	♐ 5	6 6	11 10	☍ ♅ 3 ☌ ♄.
12	Sa	Fine	5 42	6 4	12 10	☽ ☌ ☉.
13	Su	moderate	♑ 5	6 2	1 Morn	☍ south 4 7.
14	M	weather.	5 44	6 1	2 12	An ore
15	Tu	N. w	♒ 5	5 59	3	is found in
16	We	Ember Week.	5	5 57	5	Saturn rises 1 55.
17	Th	It is more	♓ 5	5 56	7	Jewes
18	F	16 p. TRINITY	5	5 54	8 About	But 'tis
19	Sa	fair, and lick.	5	5 52	9 Rise	to a time for
20	Su	fir rare.	♈ 10	5 50	A	☽ ☌ ☉.
21	M	St. MATTHEW.	5	5 48	2	☽ ☍ ♅.
22	Tu	K. Geo. III. Cro.	♉ 4	5 46	3	fish to marry
23	We	Hard	5	5 44	4	when
24	Th	thunder showers	♊ 6	5 42	5	☽ in Apogee.
25	F	17 p. TRINITY	5	5 40	6	☍ ♅ 3 ☌ ♄.
26	Sa	about this time,	♋ 6	5 38	10 41	it comes now,
27	Su	with sharp	5	5 36	11 38	left things
28	M	Frosts.	♌ 6	5 34	Morn	☽ ☌ ☉.
29	Tu	St. MICHAEL	♍ 6	5 32	1 30	in hurry.
30	We	Pro Chr. Ho.	♎ 6	5 30	2 50	☍ south 1 37.

Or rather, if he but one Virtue found
Among the many Vices that abound,
If Whoring, Drinking, were his darling Crimes,
Yet if he shows a generous Heart sometimes,
The Vice is sunk, the Virtue we apply,
Your generous Soul will not my Suit deny.

Washington's record of the convention in Philadelphia, Pa., September, 1787.

finished—he departed on the following day, September 18, for Mount Vernon. His diary records his arrival there with the brevity and conciseness that were so peculiarly his own:

> "Sept. 22, 1787. Reached home with Mr. Blair about sunset, after an absence of four months and fourteen days."

The Constitution of the United States created as profound a sensation in the world as the Declaration of Independence had created a little over eleven years before. Its fundamental greatness was everywhere acknowledged. The younger William Pitt said of it:

> "It will be the wonder and admiration of all future generations and the model of all future constitutions."

What Washington said of the Constitution is recorded by Thomas Jefferson:

> "Washington has often declared to me that he considered our new Constitution as an experiment on the practicability of Republican government, and with what dose of liberty man could be trusted for his own good; that he was determined the experiment should have a fair trial, and would lose the last drop of his blood in support of it."

The post was kept busy, in those days, carrying letters to and from Mount Vernon. On the twenty-fourth of September, two days after his return, Washington wrote to Patrick Henry:

> "From a variety of concurring accounts it appears to me that the political concerns of this country are in a manner suspended by a thread, and that the Convention has been looked up to by the reflecting part of the community with a solicitude which is hardly to be conceived; and if nothing had been agreed on by that body, anarchy would have ensued, the seeds being deeply sown in every soil."

Acceptance of the Constitution lay very close to Washington's heart. Believing it to be the only solution of his country's problem, he fought for its adoption by the States as strenuously as he had fought on the field of battle; and was deeply grieved when he learned that many who had

valiantly stood by him in the making of America now hesitated to lend their sanction to this most important step toward the nation's stabilization. Even Lafayette, who carried his sincere affection for America across seas, and gave careful thought to every development affecting the new commonwealth, criticized those features of the Constitution according special powers to the President, as savoring too much of royal prerogatives. Like many others, he could not prevision the future working of a stupendous system of checks and balances of power, to be regulated by a Supreme Court not yet in existence. Louis XVI, however, upon receiving a copy of the Constitution, presented by the nation, wrote to Washington—not realizing the sinister import of his words:

> "France shall henceforth be governed according to its principles."

Writing from Mount Vernon to William Gordon,[1] January 1, 1788, Washington expressed satisfaction with the outlook for the Constitution:

> "I have the pleasure to inform you that there is the greatest prospect of its being adopted by the people. It has its opponents, as any system formed by the wisdom of man would undoubtedly have; but they bear but a small proportion to its friends, and differ among themselves in their objections. Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey have already decided in its favor—the first by a majority of two to one, and the last two unanimously."

December 12, 1787, Washington wrote to Colonel Charles Carter:

> "I thank you for your congratulations on my return from the convention, and with what you add respecting

[1] The William Gordon referred to was probably the owner of "Kenmore" in Fredericksburg and brother of Basil Gordon of Falmouth, America's first millionaire.

the Constitution. My decided opinion is that there is no alternative between the adoption of it and anarchy: I am not a blind admirer of the Constitution to which I have assisted to give birth, but I am fully persuaded that it is the best to be obtained at this day, and that it or disunion is before us."

And on the twentieth of July, in the same year, he was even more optimistic:

"We exhibit at present the novel and astonishing spectacle of a whole people deliberating calmly on what form of government shall be most conducive to their happiness, and deciding, with an unexpected degree of unanimity, in favor of a system which they conceive calculated to answer the purpose."[1]

The ratification of the Constitution by the States was effected in the following order:

Delaware	December	7	1787
Pennsylvania	"	12	"
New Jersey	"	18	"
Georgia	January	2	1788
Connecticut	"	9	"
Massachusetts	February	6	"
Maryland	April	28	"
South Carolina	May	23	"
New Hampshire	June	21	"
Virginia	"	26	"
New York	July	26	"
North Carolina	November	21	1789
Rhode Island	May	29	1790

[1] Washington was so far ahead of his times that, writing of the new Constitution, he did not hesitate to include American womanhood among the patriots entitled to honorable mention:

"A spirit of accommodation was happily infused into the leading characters of the Continent, and the minds of men were gradually prepared by disappointment for reception of a good government. Nor could I rob the fairer sex of their share in the glory of a revolution so honorable to human nature; for indeed I think you ladies are in the number of the best patriots America can boast."

New York City celebrated the adoption of the Constitution in July, 1788, with an elaborate pageant, the principal feature of which was a full-rigged ship—the Ship of State—manned by a crew who deftly demonstrated how storms could be weathered in safety, by proper adjustment of the

New York celebrating the adoption of the Constitution in 1786.

sails. The vessel was borne through the streets on a wheeled float, on which the name "Hamilton" was conspicuously displayed. A salute of thirteen guns was fired when this national symbol reached Bowling Green.

While Delaware took the post of honor as "first signer," Rhode Island—the last of the Thirteen States to sign—

earned Washington's scorn for her tardy co-operation. One wonders how large a part his scathing denunciation played in her final decision:

> "Suffice it to say it is universally believed that the scales are ready to drop from the eyes and the infatuation to be removed from the heart of Rhode Island. May this be the case before that inconsiderable people

Memorial tablet in Leuwarden, acknowledging our young republic, in 1782.
© *J. & R. Lamb, New York City.*

> shall have filled the measure of iniquity—before it shall be too late. As the infamy of the conduct of Rhode Island outdoes all precedent, so the influence of her counsels can be of no prejudice."

Long before "little Rhody" had decided to come into the Constitutional fold, however, significant occurrences had marked Washington as the "Man of the Hour." The newly adopted Constitution demanded that one man be

chosen to guide the Ship of State out of shoal waters into a safe harbor. Every finger pointed toward Washington. As early as November 12, 1787, Alexander Donald had written to Thomas Jefferson:

> "As the eyes of all America are turned toward this really great and good man for the first President, I took the liberty of sounding him upon it. He appeared to be earnestly against going into public life again; pleads an excuse for himself in his love of retirement, his advanced age; but, notwithstanding these, I am of the opinion he may be induced to appear once more on the public stage of life."

There were many who shared these views. There was no real opposition to the election of George Washington as First President of the United States, although there were two parties, the Federalists,[1] who favored a liberal construction of the Constitution, while the anti-Federalists construed it literally. There were no conventions, platforms, or nominations in those early days of the Republic. Presidential electors were chosen on the seventh of January, 1789; the electoral vote was cast on the sixth of April, sixty-nine of the electors voting for Washington. New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island were not represented. The next highest vote was cast for John Adams, who—under the Constitution as it then existed[2]—thus became Vice President.

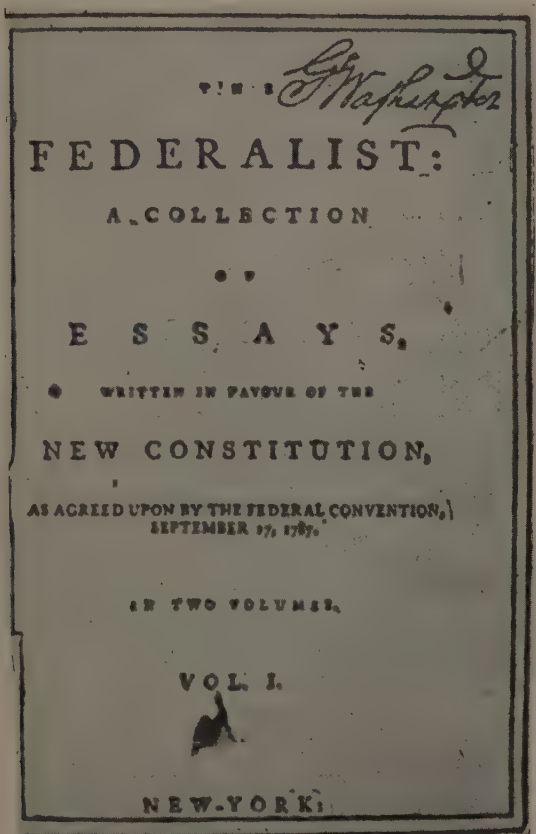
Washington had not been unprepared for this result, but neither had he been desirous of it. In January he had written:

> "The first wish of my soul is to spend the evening of my days as a private citizen on my farm; and if circum-

[1] An important factor in the final acceptance of the Constitution by the people was The Federalist, a collection of informative essays on the subject. General Washington thought highly of this book, and owned the copy of which the autographed title page is illustrated on page 120.

[2] Article II, Section 1, the Constitution of 1787.

stances which are not yet sufficiently unfolded to form the judgment or the opinion of my friends will not allow me this last boon of temporal happiness, and I should


THE G. Washington

FEDERALIST:

A COLLECTION

OF

ESSAYS,

WRITTEN IN FAVOUR OF THE

NEW CONSTITUTION,

AS AGREED UPON BY THE FEDERAL CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

Washington's autographed copy of the Federalist

The Federalist.

once more be led into the walks of public life, it is my fixed determination to enter there not only unfettered by promises, but even unchargeable to creating or feed-

ing the expectancy of any man living for my assistance to office."[1]

In March, with the same thought in mind, he had written to Benjamin Harrison:

"If it should be my inevitable fate to administer the government (for heaven knows that no event could be less desired by me, and that no earthly consideration short of so general a call—together with a desire to reconcile the contending parties, so far as in me lies—could again bring me into public life), I will go to the chair under no pre-engagement of any kind or nature whatsoever. But when in it, I will, to the best of my judgment, discharge the duties of the office with that impartiality and zeal for the public good which ought never to suffer connections of blood or friendship to intermingle, so as to have the least sway on decisions of a public nature."

On the first of April 1789 he wrote thus to General Knox:

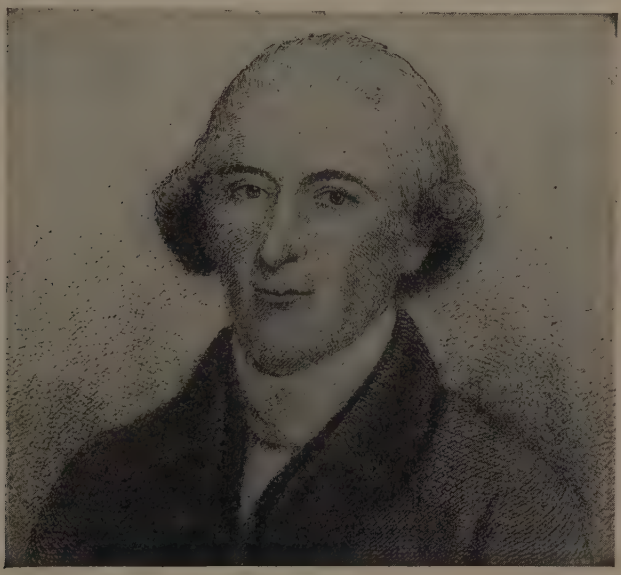
"In confidence I tell you (with the world it would obtain little credit) that my movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of execution. . . . I am sensible that I am embarking the voice of the people and the good name of my own on this voyage, but what returns will be made for them heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise."

The men who elected him knew that well enough. Even those who opposed him did not question his integrity. No man in America had more or warmer admirers than

[1] Had the principle "To the victor belong the spoils" been thrown into the discard from that hour to the present as fearlessly as Washington threw it—*though it made him many enemies*—the United States would be better off in every way.

General Washington. Samuel Adams,[1] cousin of John Adams of Massachusetts, wrote to Richard Henry Lee, in that first Presidential year:

> "I need not tell you, who have known so thoroughly the sentiments of my heart, that I have a very high regard for the late Commander-in-Chief of our Army, and I now most sincerely believe that while President



Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress.

> Washington continues in the chair, he will be able to give to all men a satisfactory reason for every instance of his public conduct."

Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress from 1774 to 1789, went to Mount Vernon to notify General Washington

[1] It was Samuel Adams who, at his cousin John's request, seconded George Washington's nomination for the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Army, although personally he preferred General Artemas Ward. (Refer to Vol. I, page 311.)

of his election. So close was the bond between these two men that they are said to have embraced at the moment of this meeting.

Mount Vernon April 14th 1789.

Sir;

I had the honor to receive your Official communication by the hand of Mr Secretary Thompson, about one o'clock this day. — Having concluded to obey the important & flattering call of my Country, and having been impressed with an idea of the expediency of my being with Congress at as early a period as possible, I propose to commence my journey on Thursday morning which will be the day after to morrow. —

I have the honor to be
with sentiments of esteem
Sir
Your most obedt Servt
G Washington

The Honble
Mr Langdon Esqr

Facsimile of Washington's letter to Congress accepting the first presidency of the United States.

Washington's letter of acceptance, addressed to the president of Congress, was—like all of his letters written at the call of Duty—concise and self-revealing:

"Mount Vernon, April 14th, 1789.

"Sir:

"I had the honor to receive your official communication by the hand of Mr. Secretary Thomson about one o'clock this day.

"Having concluded to obey the important and flattering call of my Country, and having been impressed with an idea of the expediency of my being with Congress at as early a period as possible, I propose to commence my journey on Thursday morning, which will be the day after to-morrow.

"I have the honor to be,

"With sentiments of esteem,

"Sir,

Your most obed^t^ serv^t^

"G. Washington.

The Honble.

"Jno. Langdon, Esq." [1]

[1] For facsimile reproduction of this letter see page 148.

CHAPTER XXXIV

WASHINGTON'S MOTHER IN OLD AGE. "A ROMAN MATRON." THE CLOSING YEARS OF MARY WASHINGTON'S LIFE. THE GENERAL'S DEVOTION TO HIS MOTHER. THE LAST MEETING BETWEEN MOTHER AND SON

WHILE General Washington's Star of Destiny rose steadily toward the zenith, his mother—in quiet Fredericksburg—watched the steady growth of his fame with the dispassionate eyes of increasing age. Here, in the safe seclusion of her cosy home, with her daughter near at hand and many life-long friends within easy reach, Mary Ball Washington had lived through the harrowing years of the war in comfort and—externally, at least—in peace.

She was now far advanced on the "sunset trail"; but still retained her vigor of mind, her uncompromising outlook on life, her sturdy religious faith, and her Spartan conception of discipline. Reared in the stern school of pioneer life, inured to hardship through years of pressing need, at times requiring strict economy, she had never drifted into the easy ways of living to which the younger people were even then becoming accustomed. Her strict ideas were well known to her fellow townsfolk, who averred that when she crossed lots to visit her daughter, Betty Lewis, the warning "Your mother's coming!" was sufficient to induce that lively young matron to thrust her novel hastily out of sight and diligently occupy herself with the workbasket. By the time Mrs. Washington set foot on the back porch the younger woman presented an ideal picture of the absorbed and thrifty housemother.

Many interesting anecdotes of Washington's mother—

their verity amply vouched for[1]—are still current among Fredericksburgers whose family records and recollections stretch far back into the venerated past. It is said that, one day early in the New Year, 1777, while Mary Washington was discussing with a friend her plans for the early planting of her garden, a mud-splashed courier galloped madly through the main street of the town, drew rein before her door, and, springing from his horse, handed a despatch to the august mother of his Commander. Mary Washington was probably as eager as the rest of her world for news from the front, yet

The farm on the Rappahannock where Mary Ball Washington is said to have lived and where her husband, Augustine, died.[2]

she calmly finished her talk before opening the missive and reading its simple but stirring message from her son—a Spartan like herself:

"We have crossed the Delaware."

Again, when a company of prominent Virginians called to congratulate her upon General Washington's brilliant successes at Trenton and Princeton, she shook her head and observed, sorrowfully:

[1] Related to the author by descendants of actual neighbors and friends of Mary Ball Washington.

[2] Though argument still swirls around the location of this farm, the consensus of opinion favors the above site.

The two last homes of Mary Washington in Fredericksburg; the house adjoining Kenmore; and her tomb, near Oratory Rock.

Rooms in the Fredericksburg home of Mary Ball Washington.
© *Association Preservation American Antiquities, 1913.*

"Ah, dear me!—this fighting and killing are sad things. I wish George would come home and look after his plantation!"

There was nothing complex in Mary Washington's scheme of life. The world's viewpoint—the desire for fame, honor, great riches—meant little to her. Duty came first; after that, everything was in the hands of God.

"George has been a good boy," she once said, to a great man who was visiting her, "and I am sure he will do his duty."

In that, at least she and George's wife were of one mind.

The many important men—officers and legislators—who knew and admired General Washington, were also ardent admirers of his mother. When the Peace Ball was held at Fredericksburg, following the victory at Yorktown, in 1781, Mary Washington proudly entered the ballroom on the arm of her son. The foreign officers who were present were tremendously impressed with her simple but dignified manners and stately bearing; prompting one of them to remark:

"If such are the mothers of America, it is no wonder that the sons are illustrious!"

When Washington's orderly came, on the occasion of this visit to Fredericksburg, to announce to the General's mother that "His Excellency" was in town on his way to Mount Vernon and would have the honor of calling upon her, Mrs. Washington glanced at the man and said, composedly:

"Tell George I shall be glad to see him."

It was on the fifth of November, 1781, some two weeks after Cornwallis' surrender that he came. He had been long absent, and had but recently achieved a brilliant victory. From every remote hamlet in the land, as well as in every corner of Fredericksburg, the praises of the country's hero rang on the air—and that hero this tall, stalwart son of hers. Yet Mary Washington made no ref-

erence to his victory or to the glory that enveloped him; instead, she spoke of old times and old friends, and of the simple, everyday things that she knew and understood.

Before the Marquis de Lafayette returned to France in 1784, he made a trip to Fredericksburg for the special purpose of paying his respects in person to this remarkable old lady. He found her in her garden, wearing a simple gown and a plain straw hat. Greeting the young nobleman with quiet dignity but without formality, Mrs. Washington observed:

"Ah, Marquis, you see an old woman. But come—I can make you welcome to my poor dwelling without the parade of changing my dress."

She preceded him into the house, and regaled him with spiced gingerbread[1] and mint julep. True Southern hospitality, that; and of the honest, unostentatious sort that is not often offered to men of Lafayette's rank.[2]

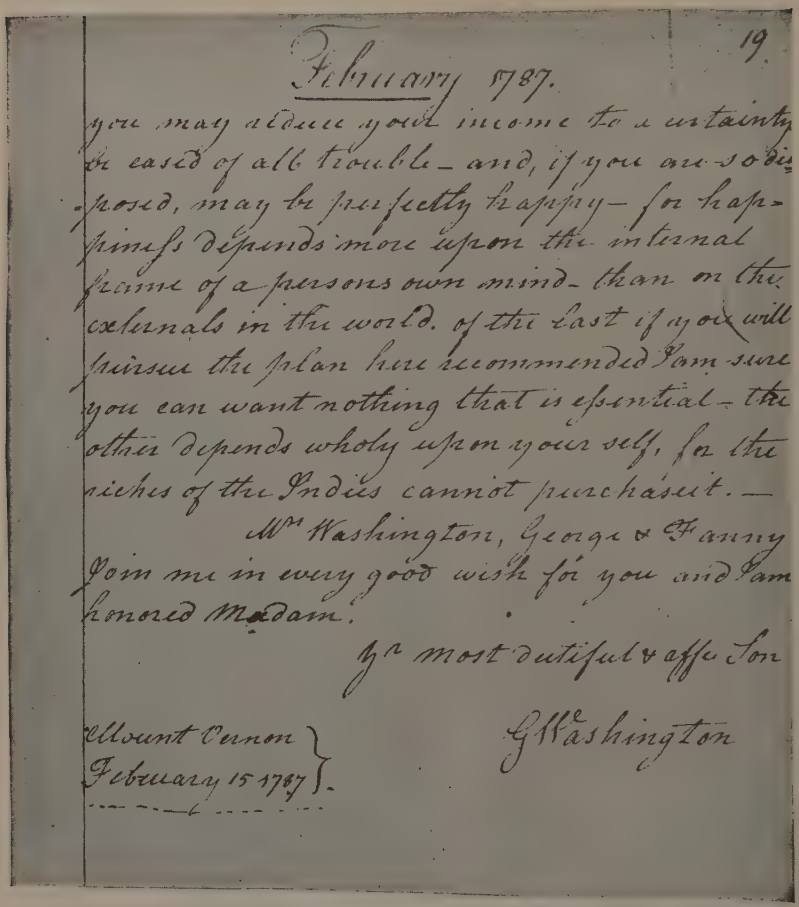
Even in advanced age Mary Ball Washington kept a vigilant eye upon her temporal affairs. Her son-in-law, Colonel Fielding Lewis,—who was a near neighbor after her removal from the Ferry Farm to Fredericksburg,—was ever ready to aid his wife's mother in the matter of managing her property; but efforts in that direction were limited by the venerable lady's resolute will.

"Do you, Fielding, keep my books in order," said she, "for your eyesight is better than mine; but leave the executive management to me."

It is evident that comfort environed Mrs. Washington during those last years of her life. Her son, George, contributed to his mother's finances from time to time—a fact

[1] Spiced gingerbread is still made by Fredericksburg housewives—or their cooks—from the old Southern recipe used by Mary Washington; and it is as seductive to the twentieth-century palate as to that of the eighteenth. The writer more than once has tasted this delectable morsel on the spot where Mary Washington entertained Lafayette.

[2] Lafayette said of Mrs. Washington: "She is the one woman worthy to be called a Roman matron."



February 1787. 19.

you may adduce your income to a certainty
be eased of all trouble — and, if you are so dis-
posed, may be perfectly happy — for happi-
ness depends more upon the internal
frame of a persons own mind — than on the
externals in the world. of the last if you will
pursue the plan here recommended I am sure
you can want nothing that is essential — the
other depends wholy upon your self, for the
riches of the Indies cannot purchase it. —

Mrs Washington, George & Fanny
join me in every good wish for you and I am
honored Madam.

Yr most dutiful & affe Son

G Washington

Mount Vernon
February 15 1787.

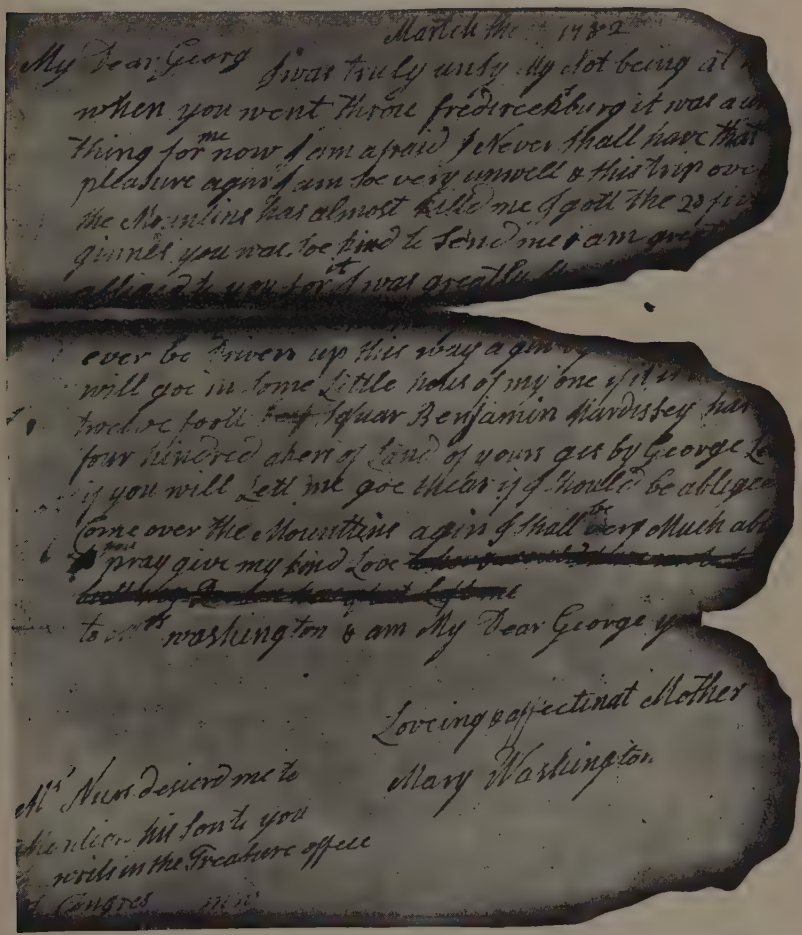
Excerpt from letter of Washington to his mother, dated February, 1787. Copied by his secretary, Lawrence Lewis.

clearly shown in his correspondence, especially in the lengthy letter written by him to his sister Betty at the time of their mother's death.[1]

A partly burned letter, now in the private library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and here published through Mr.

[1] See facsimile of this letter to Betty Lewis from her brother George on pages 170 *et seq.*

Morgan's courtesy, appears to be the only one in existence from Mary Washington to her son.[1] It has deep interest as the pathetic letter of a very tired old lady to the son whom



March the 1 1782

My Dear George I was truly unhappy my not being at
when you went throu fredericksburg it was a
thing for me now I am afraid I never shall have that
pleasure agin I am so very unwell & this trip over
the Mountains has almost killed me I got the 23 fi
ginnet you was so kind to send me I am gre
obliged to you for it was greatly

ever be driven up this way agin
will goe in some little holes of my one if I
tho I do foolish but Squar Benjamin Hardistey has
four hundred aker of land of yours gos by George
if you will Lett me goe there if I should be obliged
Come over the Mountains agin I shall very much ob
pray give my kind Love
to Mrs washington & am My Dear George y

Loving & affectionat Mother
Mary Washington

Mrs Nuns desired me to
mention his love to you
with in the Treasure office
of Congres

The only letter in existence written by Mary Ball Washington. *Courtesy of J. Pierpont Morgan.*

[1] The authenticity of this letter is doubly vouched for by an annotation of Washington on the back, stating that it was written by Mrs. Washington, a fact that adds largely to its value.

she had been disappointed of seeing because of her absence from home when he called. For the reader's convenience, the spelling is modernized. The education of women was not encouraged in Mary Ball's time.

"March the 13, 1782.

"My dear George,

"I was truly uneasy, my not being at home when you went through Fredericksburg. It was an unlucky thing for me. Now I am afraid I shall never have that pleasure again. I am so very unwell, and this trip over the mountains has almost killed me.

"I got the second five guineas you was so kind as to send me, and am greatly obliged to you for it. I was greatly shocked. . . . Poor Mrs. Washington.[1]

. . . . . .

ever be driven up this way again by the . . . will go in some little house of my own if it is but twelve foot square. Benjamin Hardissey has four hundred acres of land of yours close by George Lewis. If you will let me go there if I should be obliged to come over the mountains again I shall be very much obliged to you. Pray give my kind love [to her, but my reason has quite left me] to Mrs. Washington,[2] and am, my dear George, your

"Loving and affectionate Mother,

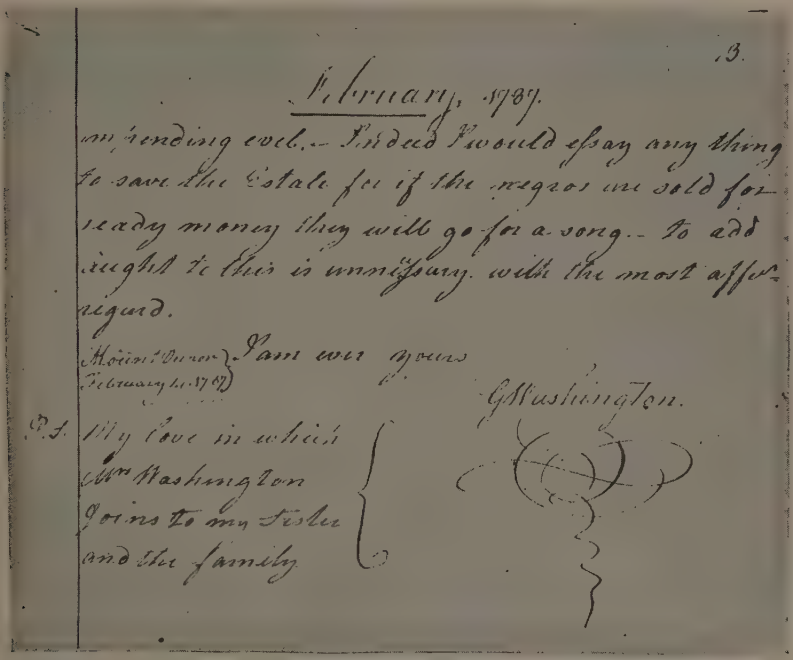
"Mary Washington.

"Mr. Nurs desired me to mention his son to you. He writes in the Treasury office of Congress.

"M. W."[3]

[1] Part of the script is here burned away.
[2] The bracketed words have been crossed out in the original.
[3] The original letter is shown in facsimile on page 157.

It can hardly be doubted that George Washington inherited many sterling qualities from his mother;[1] among them poise, courage, indomitable persistence, rigid adherence to the principles of honor and justice, and an abiding belief in the power, wisdom and goodness of God. Perhaps, too,


3.

February, 1787.

ing ending evil.— Indeed I would essay any thing to save the Estate for if the negroes are sold for ready money they will go for a song.— To add aught to this is unnecessary. with the most affectionate regard.

Mount Vernon February 24. 1787

I am ever yours

G Washington.

P.S. My love in which Mrs Washington joins to my Sister and the family

Excerpt from letter of Washington to his mother. Copied by Lawrence Lewis.

a tendency to serious meditation which sometimes approached melancholy. Punctuality, which was another of his distinguishing traits, was equally his mother's. It is

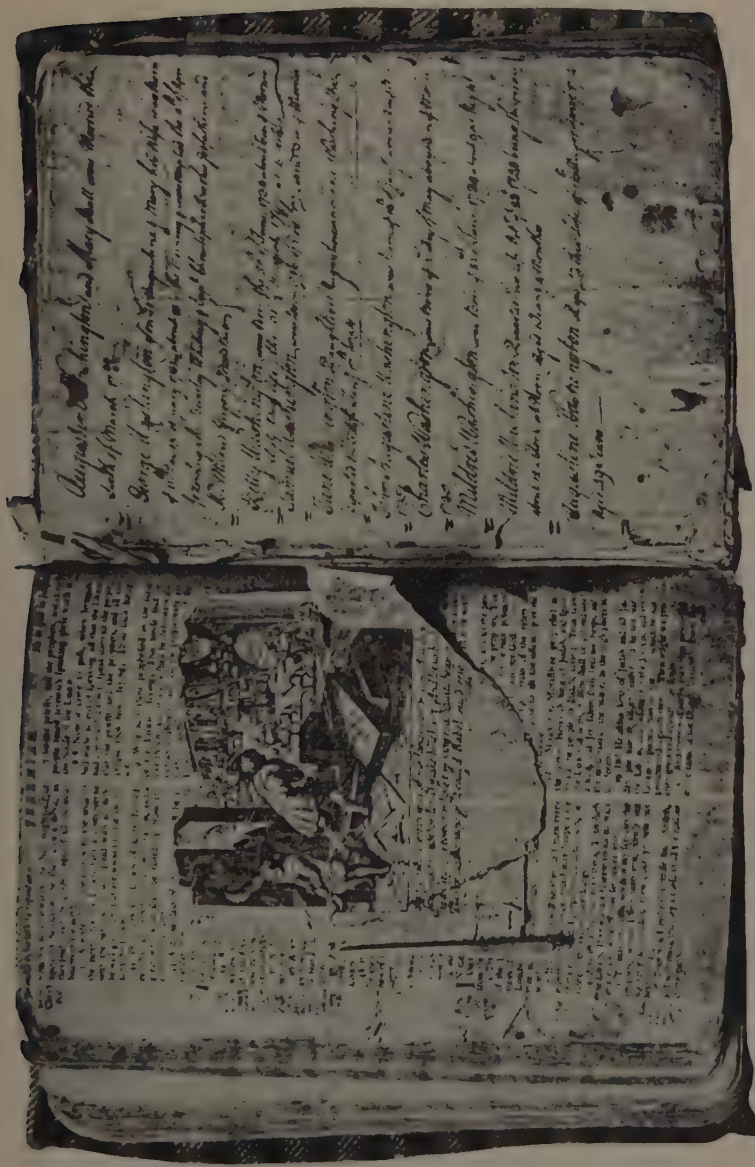
[1] Washington was endowed by his father, Augustine Washington, in his day called the handsomest man in Virginia, with upright manliness, deep love of the soil, and a splendid physique; also, it is more than likely, with rare clarity of vision and a terse mode of expressing his ideas. When Augustine Washington's two elder sons, Augustine and Lawrence, were at school in England, their father objected to their living in London, because there, he said, "men's manners are finished—but so, too, are their virtues."

still spoken of in Fredericksburg that the neighbors set their clocks on Sunday mornings, when they saw Mrs. Washington pass on her way to church.[1]

It has sometimes been intimated that there was no great bond of affection between Washington and his mother; but there is absolutely no basis for such a supposition. Mary Washington was not of the emotional type. As a young woman in her early twenties, she had married a mature widower with three children, and had borne six of her own. Of these, one of her stepchildren and one of her own had died; but at thirty-five she had found herself widowed with five little children dependent upon her. There was not much time or energy to spare for tenderness, even if it had been customary in those days—which it was not.

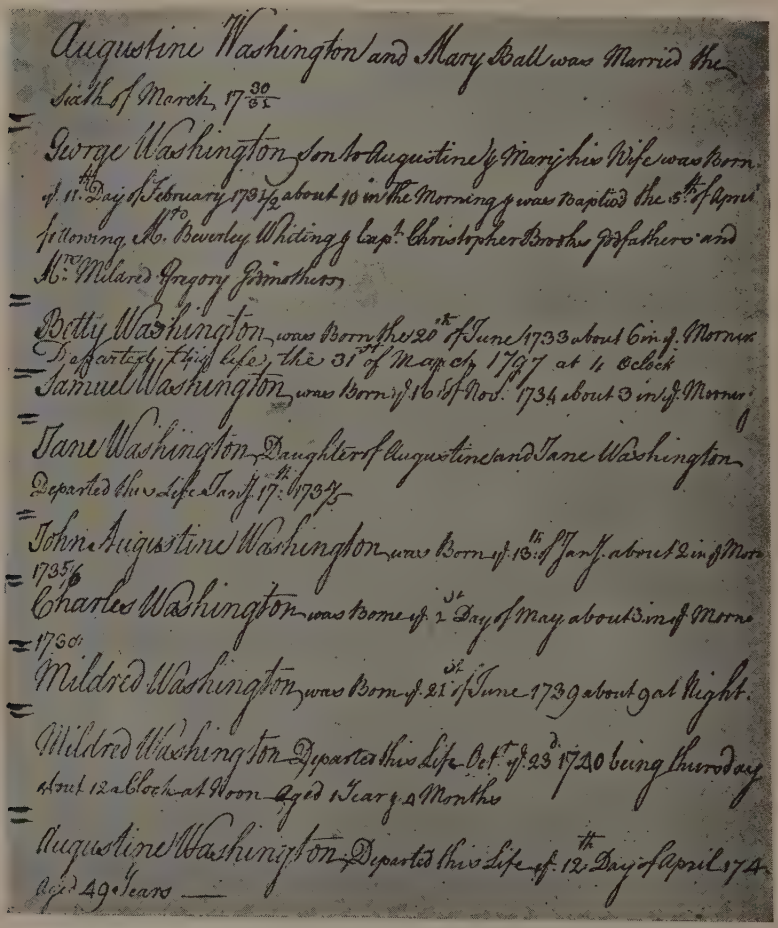
The available evidence, nevertheless, points to the conclusion that, as Mary Washington placed her son George on the highest pedestal in the temple of her affections, so he devotedly loved his mother. But he had his own ideas as to the manner of displaying his affection. Mary Washington, we repeat, was herself no sentimentalist; and her son's nature, like hers, was one of fine reticence. To a very large extent George Washington had brought himself up; and at an age when most boys of his class were still in leading-strings, he was doing a man's work, exposed to the hardships of a frontiersman's life. He never failed in duty to his mother; never treated her other than with the deepest respect. His letters to her, it is true, began with "Honored Madam"—it was the custom of the times—but they almost invariably ended with "Your dutiful and affectionate son." His first thought, in all circumstances, was for her comfort

[1] It has been said, in some quarters, that Mary Washington smoked a pipe. It is possible, but not probable. Although the age in which she lived was one in which both smoking and snuff-taking were frequently indulged in, by women as well as men, there is nothing in Mary Ball Washington's life or character to suggest that she ever did either. Her son George had a great aversion to smoking, and had no great liking for snuff.



Mary Ball Washington's Bible in which the family record was incorporated by Washington at the age of sixteen years.

and safety; and he never intentionally caused her a pang or a grief. If these manifestations do not reveal the purest affection, in what form, one wonders, could it be revealed?


Augustine Washington and Mary Ball was Married the
Sixth of March, 17 30/31
George Washington Son to Augustine & Mary his Wife was Born
the 11th Day of February 173 1/2 about 10 in the Morning & was Baptized the 5th of April
following. Mr. Beverley Whiting & Capt. Christopher Brooke Godfathers and
Mrs. Mildred Gregory Godmother
Betty Washington was Born the 20th of June 1733 about 6 in the Morning
Departed this life the 31st of March 1797 at 4 o'clock
Samuel Washington was Born the 16th of Nov. 1734 about 3 in the Morning
Jane Washington Daughter of Augustine and Jane Washington
Departed this Life Jan. the 17th 1735/6
John Augustine Washington was Born the 13th of Jan. about 2 in the Morn
1735/6
Charles Washington was Borne the 2d Day of May about 3 in the Morning
1738
Mildred Washington was Born the 21st of June 1739 about 9 at Night.
Mildred Washington Departed this Life Oct. the 23d 1740 being Thursday
about 12 a Clock at Noon Aged 1 Year & 4 Months
Augustine Washington Departed this Life the 12th Day of April 174
Aged 49 Years

Bible record of births and deaths in Washington's immediate family.

Again, it has been argued that Mary Washington's proper place was in her son's spacious mansion at Mount Vernon, rather than in a home of her own at Fredericksburg.

It seems fairly clear that criticism of Washington on this score was not lacking, even during his mother's lifetime; for the Virginia Assembly at one time discussed the question of voting a pension for Mrs. Washington, under the impression that she was in straitened circumstances. General Washington was very indignant about this, and wrote to his mother a letter in which he stated his views, both with regard to her finances and the desire she had expressed to live with him at Mount Vernon. For several reasons, he carefully explained to her, Mount Vernon was not a suitable residence for a woman of her years. It was, for one thing, more or less a place of public resort, being continually filled with guests; therefore, were she to make her home there, she would be under the necessity of being constantly in receiving costume—which, at her age, was not to be thought of. The only way to avoid this would be to remain in her room—which, again, was not to be thought of.

All this was perfectly true; but it is not unlikely that there were additional reasons—equally cogent, but not so readily spoken of—for Washington's stand in this matter. It was not in his nature to be ruled by anyone; and, with her own dominating disposition and her narrow and inflexible rules of conduct, Mary Washington would have fitted poorly into the social activities of life at Mount Vernon. Washington undoubtedly realized this, if she did not; and he was wisely determined that no cloud of domestic inharmony should be permitted to descend upon the home that was to him a haven of peace. He knew that both of the women whom he loved—his mother and his wife—were highly individual, and both accustomed to command; and, while both were most estimable, he knew that in few instances can two women—however noble and sweet and good—devotedly love the same man, even though one be his mother and the other his wife, without little edges of friction appearing here and there to ruffle the placid surface of domestic life;

especially if both dwell under the same roof. Washington's understanding of life's problems was unparalleled.

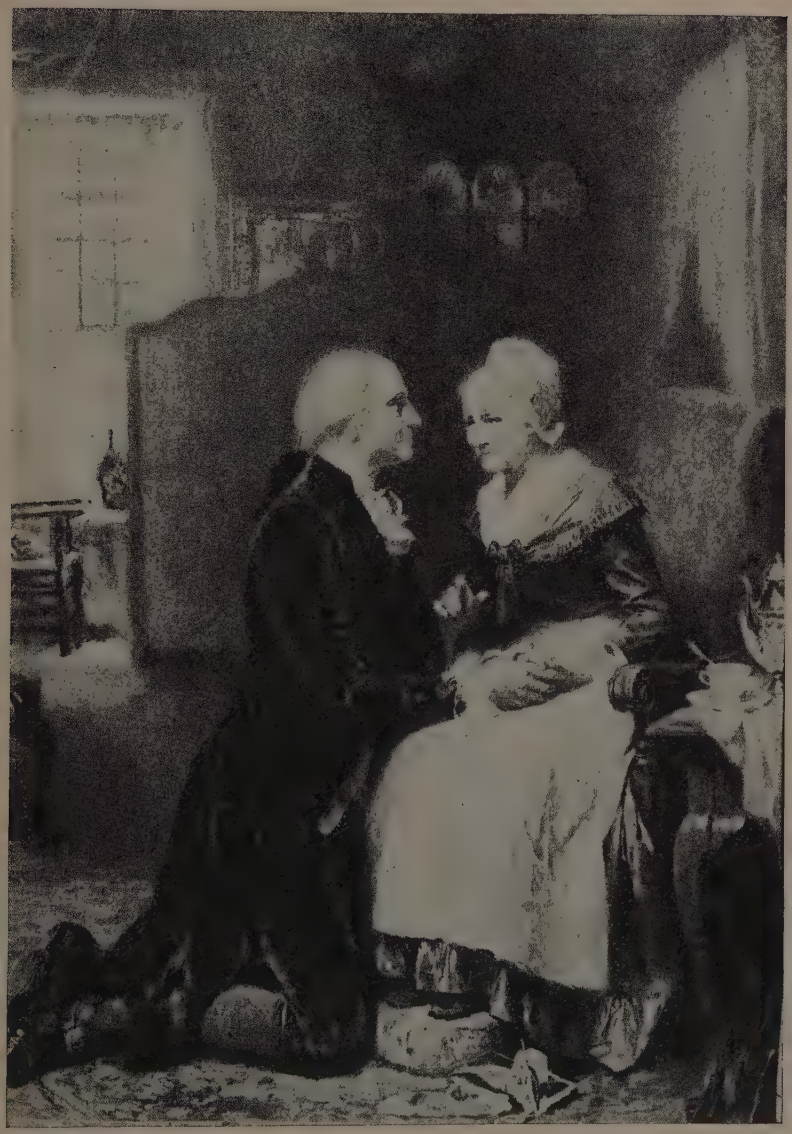
Perhaps those last years were a little lonely for Mary Washington; advancing age when filled only with retrospect is frequently lonely; but at least they knew no restrictions. She came and went as she pleased—in which she actually enjoyed more freedom than her illustrious son, whose time was never his own. A favorite resort of hers in Fredericksburg was Meditation, or Oratory Rock, where she would sometimes sit for hours, deep in thought, with her Bible and her treasured copy of Matthew Hale's "Meditations"[1] for company. But eventually there came a time when Mary Washington knew that her days were numbered; and it was then that her son was called to the Presidency of these United States.

Before Washington left Virginia for his inauguration in New York, he paid a farewell visit to his mother in her home in Fredericksburg. Mary Washington was then eighty-one years old, and in the final stages of cancer.[2] Yet, with the same splendid fortitude that had carried her through the vicissitudes of her earlier life, she steeled herself to maintain her usual composure during what she knew would be her last visit from her beloved son, George.[3] Washington regarded his aged mother's pain-swept face with affectionate compassion. Endeavoring to control his emotion, he spoke to her of his plans.

[1] No one act of Mary Washington better proves her habit of meeting an issue, great or small,—a quality she transmitted to her son—than the following: When crossing the threshold of her new home at Pope's Creek as a bride, this book lay open on a table, showing the name of the first wife, where it evidently had been placed with the flavor of malice aforethought by the housekeeper, custodian of the growing boys. Did Mary Washington falter? Not at all. But, seizing a pen, she wrote beneath the name of the first wife, her own name, "Mary Washington," in a firm, vigorous hand. See Vol. I, page 57, for signature — page 56 for book.

[2] The home of Dr. Mortimer, in which Mary Ball Washington learned that her death from cancer was imminent, is still standing in Fredericksburg.

[3] That eminent artist, J. L. G. Ferris, has graphically portrayed this last meeting between George Washington and his mother, in the painting here reproduced.



Washington's farewell to his mother, April, 1789. © *J. L. G. Ferris.*

"The people," he said, "have been pleased to elect me to the Chief Magistracy of the United States; but, before I can assume the functions of my office, I have come to bid you an affectionate farewell. So soon as the weight of public business can be disposed of, I shall hasten to Virginia and——"

His mother interrupted him. Gently, but with absolute conviction, she said:

"You will see my face no more. My great age and the disease that is fast approaching my vitals warn me that I shall not be long for this world. But go, George. Fulfill the high duties which Heaven appears to assign you. Go, my son; and may Heaven's and a mother's blessing always attend you!"

Washington's stoic calm broke down. His eyes were suffused with tears. Pressing his mother's wasted hand, he lifted it reverently to his lips.

Mother and son never met again in this life. Four months after this poignant interview,—on the twenty-fifth of August, 1789,—Mary Ball Washington's earth life came to an end.

Her will, which had been made and signed eleven years before, is strongly indicative of her careful habit of thought:

THE WILL OF MARY WASHINGTON

As registered in the Clerk's Office at Fredericksburg, Va.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I, Mary Washington, of Fredericksburg, in the County of Spotsylvania, being in good health, but calling to mind the uncertainty of this life, and being willing to dispose of what remains of my earthly estate, do make and publish this, my last Will, recommending my soul into the hands of my Creator, hoping for remission of all my sins through the merits and mediation of

Jesus Christ, the Saviour of Mankind. I dispose of my worldly estate as follows:

Imprimis: I give to my son, General George Washington, all my land in Accokeek Run, in the County of Stafford, and also my negro boy, George, to him and his heirs forever. Also my best bed, bedstead, and Virginia cloth curtains (the same that stands in my best bedroom), my quilted blue-and-white quilt, and my best dressing glass.

Item: I give and devise to my son, Charles Washington, my negro man Tom, to him and his assigns forever.

Item: I give and devise to my daughter, Betty Lewis, my phaeton and my bay horse.

Item: I give and devise to my daughter-in-law, Hannah Washington, my purple cloth cloak lined with shag.

Item: I give and devise to my grandson, Corbin Washington, my negro wench, Old Bet, my riding chair, and two black horses, to him and his assigns forever.

Item: I give and devise to my grandson, Fielding Lewis, my negro man Frederick, to him and his assigns forever; also eight silver tablespoons, half of my crockery ware, and the blue-and-white tea china, with book case, oval table, one bedstead, one pair of sheets, one pair blankets and white cotton counterpane, two tablecloths, six red leather chairs, half my pewter, and one-half of my iron kitchen furniture.

Item: I give and devise to my grandson, Lawrence Lewis, my negro wench, Lydia, to him and his assigns forever.

Item: I give and devise to my granddaughter, Bettie Carter, my negro woman, Little Bet, and her future increase, to her and her assigns forever; also my largest looking glass, my walnut writing desk with drawers, a square dining table, one bed, bedstead, bolster, one pillow, one blanket and pair of

sheets, white Virginia cloth counterpane, and purple curtains; my red-and-white tea china, teaspoons, and the other half of my pewter, crockery ware, and the remainder of my iron kitchen furniture.

Item: I give to my grandson, George Washington, my next best dressing glass, one bed, bedstead, bolster, one pillow, one pair sheets, one blanket and counterpane.

Item: I devise all my wearing apparel to be equally divided between my granddaughters, Bettie Carter, Fannie Ball, and Milly Washington; but should my daughter, Betty Lewis, fancy any one, two or three articles, she is to have them before a division thereof.

LASTLY, I nominate and appoint my said son, General George Washington, executor of this, my Will; and as I owe few or no debts, I direct my executor to give no security, nor to appraise my estate, but desire the same may be allotted to my devisees with as little trouble and delay as may be, desiring their acceptance thereof as all the token I now have to give them of my love for them.

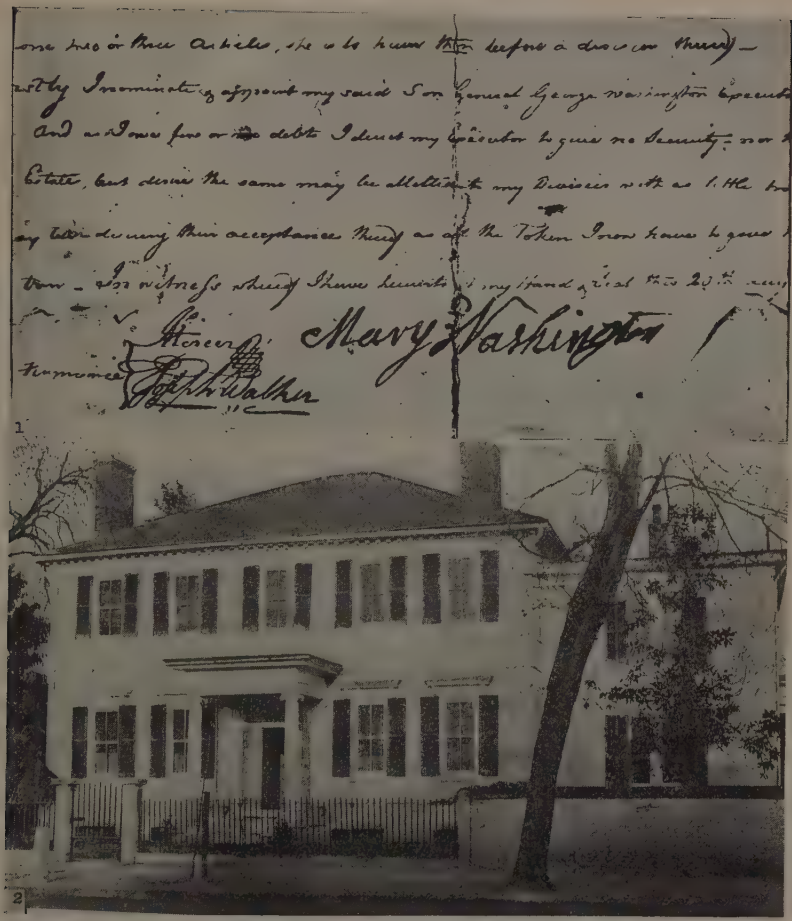
IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 20th dav of May, 1778.

Mary Washington.

WITNESS: JOHN FERNEYHOUGH. Signed, sealed and published in our presence and signed by us in the presence of the said Mary Washington, and at her desire.

J. Mercer.
Joseph Walker.[1]

[1] See page 169 for facsimile of concluding paragraphs of this document.
The property willed to Mary Washington by her husband was largely in trust and on her death reverted to the heirs.



1. Last six lines of Mary Ball Washington's will, bearing her signature.
2. Home of Dr. Charles Mortimer, Fredericksburg, Mary Washington's physician, and the first mayor of Fredericksburg.

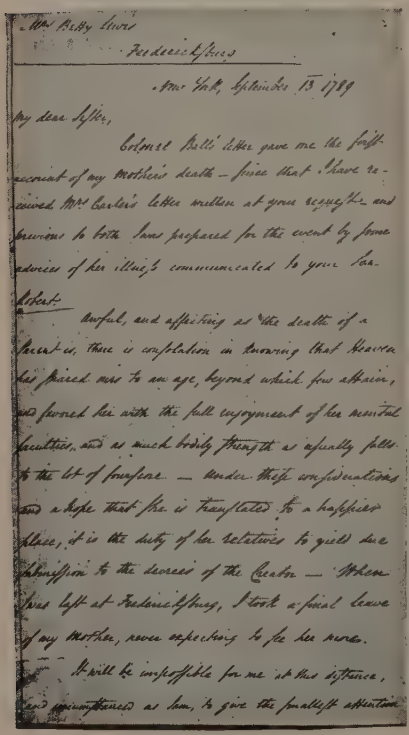
General Washington, in the letter to his sister to which reference has previously been made,[1] wrote:

"Were it not that the specific legacies which are given to me by the will are meant, and ought to be con-

[1] Page 170 *et seq.*

sidered and received, as mementos of parental affection, in the last solemn act of life, I should not be desirous of receiving or removing them; but in this point of view I set a value on them much beyond their intrinsic worth.

This rarely published facsimile of the seven-page letter from Washington to his sister Betty on his mother's death, gives clear and concise directions for closing the estate. It continues on pages 171–172.



Mrs Betty Lewis

Fredericksburg

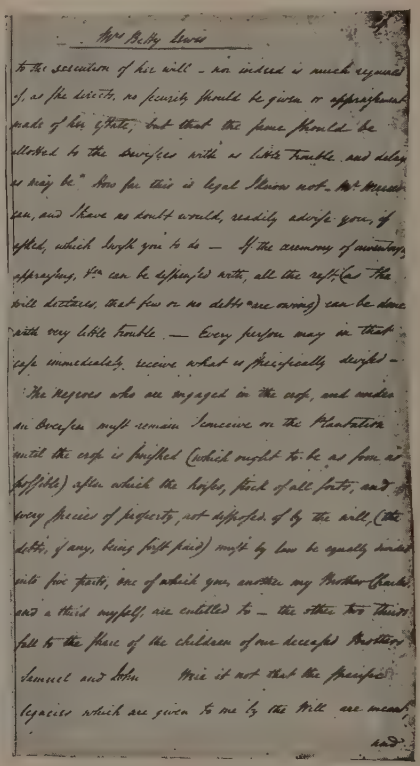
New York, September 13. 1789

My dear Sister,

Colonel Bell's letter gave me the first account of my Mother's death — since that I have received Mrs Carter's letter written at your request — and previous to both I was prepared for the event by some advices of her illness communicated to your Son Robert.

Painful, and afflicting as the death of a Parent is, there is consolation in knowing that Heaven has spared mine to an age, beyond which few attain, and favored her with the full enjoyment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily strength as infinitely falls to the lot of humanity — Under these considerations and a hope that she is translated to a happier place, it is the duty of her relatives to yield due obedience to the decrees of the Creator — When I was last at Fredericksburg, I took a final leave of my Mother, never expecting to see her more.

It will be impossible for me at this distance, and circumstanced as I am, to give the smallest attention



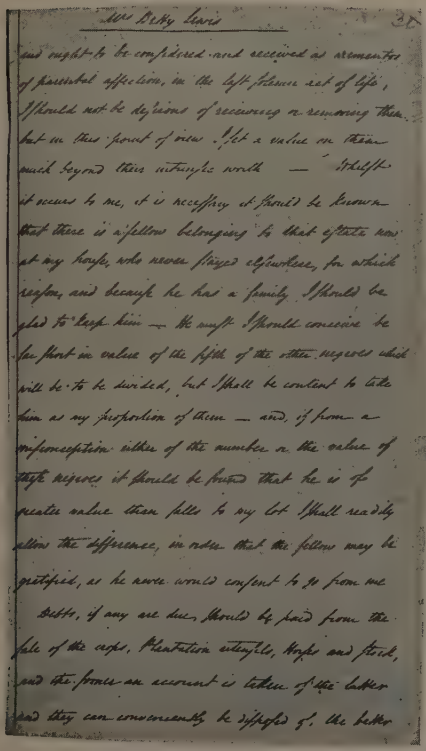
Mrs Betty Lewis

to the execution of her will — nor indeed is much required of me, for the debts, no security should be given or appraisement made of her effects, but that the same should be allotted to the devisees with as little trouble and delay as may be" How far this is legal I know not — but presume you, and I have no doubt would, readily advise you, if asked, which both you to do — If the ceremony of inventory, appraising, &c. can be dispensed with, all the rest (as the will declares, that few or no debts are owing) can be done with very little trouble — Every person may in that case immediately receive what is specifically devised — The Negroes who are engaged in the crop, and under an Overseer must remain I conceive on the Plantation until the crop is finished (which ought to be as soon as possible) after which the hogs, stock of all sorts, and every species of property, not disposed of by the will, (the debts, if any, being first paid) must by law be equally divided into five shares, one of which you, another my Brother Charles, and a third myself, are entitled to — the other two shares fall to the share of the children of our deceased Brothers Samuel and John Was it not that the specific legacies which are given to me by the Will are meant

and

"Whilst it occurs to me, it is necessary it should be known that there is a fellow belonging to that estate now at my house, who never stayed elsewhere; for which reason, and because he has a family, I should be glad to keep him. He might, I should conceive, be short in value of the fifth of the other negroes which

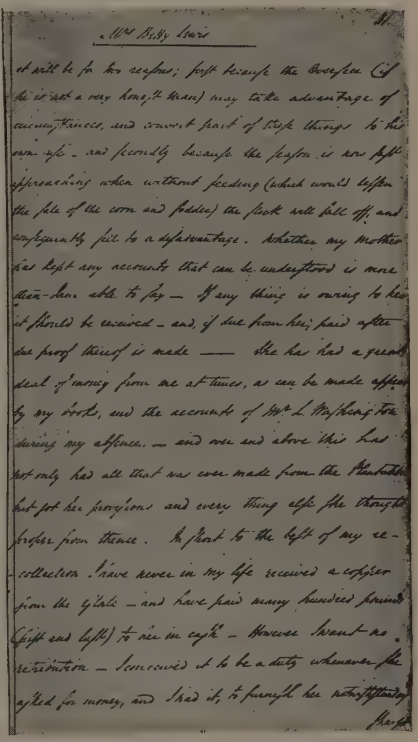
will have to be divided; but I shall be content to take him as my proportion of them; and if, from a misconception either of the number or the value of these negroes, it should be found that he is of greater value than falls to my lot, I shall readily allow the difference in order that the fellow may be gratified, as he never would consent to go from me."



Mrs Betty Lewis

and ought to be considered and received as memento of parental affection, in the last solemn act of life, I should not be desirous of receiving or removing them but in this point of view. I set a value on them much beyond their intrinsic worth — Indeed it occurs to me, it is necessary it should be known that there is a fellow belonging to that estate now at my house, who never stayed elsewhere, for which reason, and because he has a family, I should be glad to keep him — the most I should conceive he can plant in value of the fifth of the other negroes which will be to be divided, but I shall be content to take him as my proportion of them — and, if from a misconception either of the number or the value of these negroes it should be found that he is of greater value than falls to my lot I shall readily allow the difference, in order that the fellow may be gratified, as he never would consent to go from me.

Debts, if any are due, should be paid from the sale of the crops, Plantation utensils, Negro and stock, and the former an account is taken of the latter and they can conveniently be disposed of, the better



Mrs Betty Lewis

it will be for her comfort; first because the overplus (if there is not a very length term) may take advantage of circumstances, and convert part of these things to her own use — and secondly because the season is now past approaching when without feeding (which would lessen the sale of the corn and fodder) the stock will fall off, and consequently fall to a disadvantage. Whether my mother has kept any accounts that can be understood is more than I am able to say — If any thing is owing to her it should be received — and, if due from her, paid after due proof thereof is made — She has had a great deal of money from me at times, as can be made appear by my books, and the accounts of Mr L. Washington during my absence. — and over and above this has not only had all that was ever made from the Plantation but got her provisions and every thing else the strength of it afforded from thence. I point to the best of my recollection. I have never in my life received a copper from the estate — and have paid many hundred pounds (first and last) to her in cash — However I want no recrimination — I conceived it to be a duty whenever she asked for money, and I had it, to furnish her with it — Yours

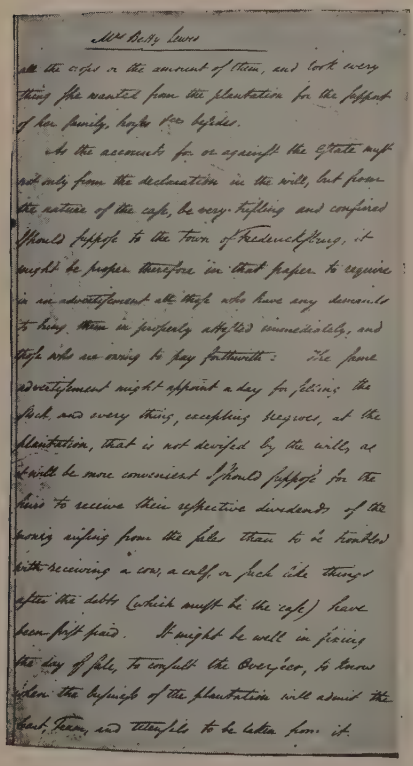
The three portraits of Mary Ball Washington generally shown are placed herein. One is the Wollaston;[1] another is generally claimed to have been painted by Robert Edge

The Middleton portrait (see page Vol. I, page 58) was foisted on the public by one Major Walter. The late Charles Henry Hart of Philadelphia calls it an absolute fake.

[1] See page 175.

Pine at a much later period of Mrs. Washington's life than either of the others. The portrait, showing Mary Ball Washington in age, has the unqualified indorsement of the late Charles Henry Hart.

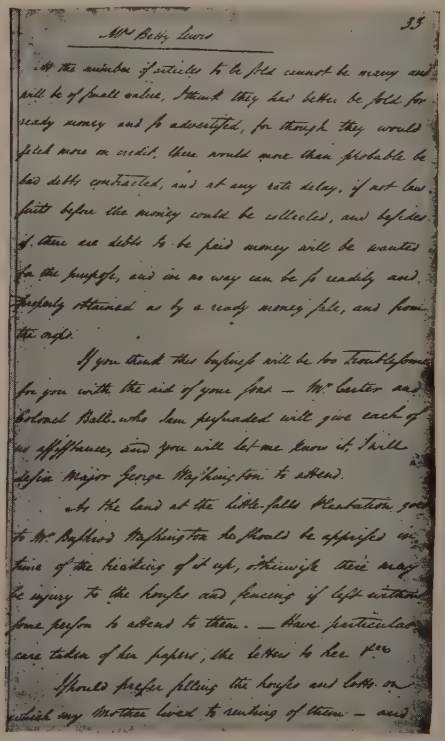
The painting known as the Wollaston portrait[1] was discovered in Fredericksburg by the late Colonel Nesbit,



Mrs Betty Lewis

all the crops in the amount of them, and took every thing she wanted from the plantation for the support of her family, hogs &c. besides.

As the accounts for or against the Estate must rest only from the declaration in the will, but from the nature of the case, be very trifling and confined should suppose to the town of Fredericksburg, it would be proper therefore in that paper to require in an advertisement all those who have any demands to bring them in properly attested immediately, and those who are owing to pay forthwith: The same advertisement might appoint a day for selling the stock, and every thing, excepting negroes, at the plantation, that is not devised by the will, as it will be more convenient should suppose for the heirs to receive their respective dividends of the money arising from the sales than to be troubled with receiving a cow, a calf or such like things after the debts (which must be the case) have been first paid. It might be well in fixing the day of sale, to enjoin the Overseer, to know when the business of the plantation will admit the hands, team, and utensils to be taken from it.



Mrs Betty Lewis 35

As the number of articles to be sold cannot be many and will be of small value, I think they had better be sold for ready money and so advertised, for though they would sold more on credit, there would more than probable be bad debts contracted, and at any rate delay, if not loss, before the money could be collected, and besides of these are debts to be paid money will be wanted for the purpose, and in no way can be so readily and frugally obtained as by a ready money sale, and from the crops.

If you think this business will be too troublesome for you with the aid of your son — Mr. Lecter and Colonel Ball who have persuaded will give each of us assistance, and you will let me know it, I will desire Major George Washington to attend.

As the land at the Little-falls Plantation goes to Mr. Bushrod Washington he should be apprised of time of the tenders of it up, otherwise there may be injury to the houses and fencing if left without some person to attend to them. — Have particular care taken of the papers, the letters to Rev.d

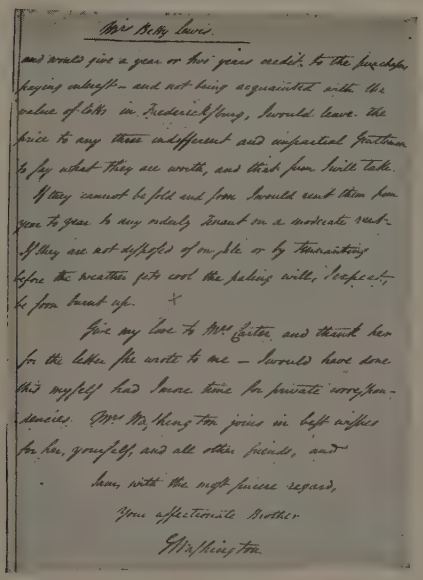
Should prefer selling the houses and lots on which my Mother lived to renting of them — and

together with other historical portraits of the period. The name "Mrs. Washington" is inscribed on the reverse. The picture was bought by a Mr. Gowdy, and bequeathed

[1] It is by courtesy of Colonel W. Lanier Washington that the portrait is here reproduced. It has never before appeared in any book.

by him to his son, George B. Gowdy, of Forked River, New Jersey. Later it came into the possession of Mr. Stevens, and is now owned by Col. W. Lanier Washington of New York City.

John Wollaston, Jr., was a painter of considerable eminence in New York and Philadelphia in the middle eighteenth century. In or about 1756 he is said to have



Mrs Betty Lewis.

and would give a year or two years credit to the people paying it — and not being acquainted with the value of lots in Fredericksburg, I would leave the price to any three indifferent and impartial Gentlemen to say what they are worth, and that from Twelve to

If they cannot be sold and I am sure I would rent them from year to year to any orderly tenant on a moderate rent.

If they are not disposed of in this or by Tenanting before the weather gets cool the paling will, I expect, go from hand up.

Give my Love to Mrs Carter, and thank her for the letter she wrote to me — I would have done this myself had I some time for private correspondencies. Mrs Washington joins in best wishes for her, yourself, and all other friends, and

I am, with the most sincere regard,

Your affectionate Mother

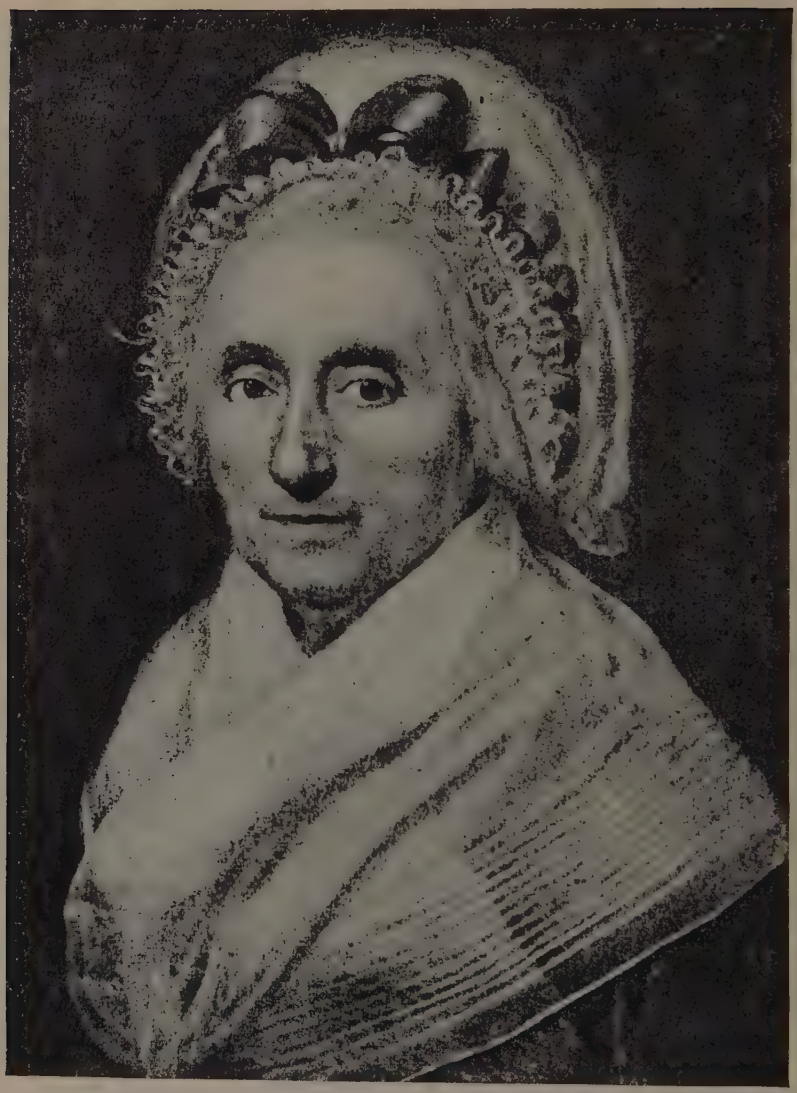
M Washington

painted the earliest known portrait of George Washington,[1] and is believed to have painted portraits of the two Custis children.[2] The Encyclopœdia of General Painters[3] refers to John Wollaston as having painted a portrait of Washington's mother. An art expert nearer home, R. F. Field, of New York, made a thorough examination of this portrait in

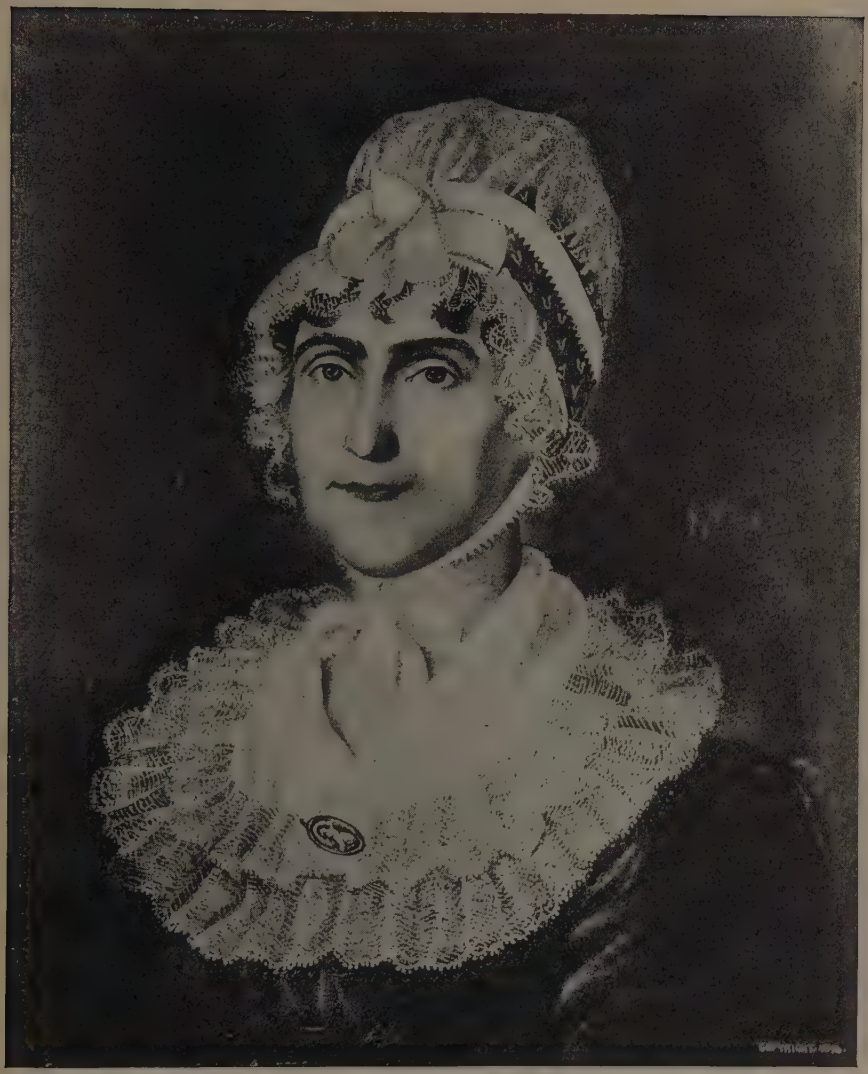
[1] Shown on page 460 (Portrait Section).

[2] According to Glenn's "Some Colonial Mansions." Dunlop says that Wollaston painted portraits in Philadelphia in 1758, and in Maryland in 1759 and 1760.

[3] Published in 1901 by Mueller & Singer, Berlin.



Portrait of Mary Washington in old age. By Robert Edge Pine. Indorsed by the late Charles Henry Hart. © *W. Lanier Washington*



The Wollaston Portrait of Mary Ball. See page 172 for authority.
© *W. Lanier Washington.*

1914, and wrote to W. Lanier Washington, embodying his opinion of it. In this letter, dated June, 1914, he says:

> "I took this painting to my studio in Maiden Lane, and invited several friends to view it. . . . I removed the canvas from its stretcher, which was rudely constructed, for the purpose of relining and cleaning the painting, and on the inside of the old stretcher and under the canvas was marked the words "Mrs. Washington," which convinced me that the artist, who had made his own stretcher, had so marked it for the purpose of using it for the portrait of Mrs. Washington. It could have been placed there by no other than the artist himself. Mr. G. Washington Coster, an uncle of the banker, was also present. Mr. Gowdy, the owner, placed a value of $20,000 upon the portrait."

The portrait of Mrs. Washington, generally called the Robert Edge Pine,[1] was purchased in 1850 by a Dr. Spooner from descendants of the Ball family at Fredericksburg. It was bequeathed by Dr. Spooner to Judge A. P. Townsend, and again bequeathed by him to Dr. A. A. Davis. Many leading experts on Washington portraits assert that this portrait was undoubtedly painted by Robert Edge Pine, and that it presents an excellent likeness of Washington's mother in her later years.[2]

In 1833 a monument to the memory of Mary Washington was designed by Sidney H. Nealy at the request of Silas E. Burrows, of New York City, who planned to erect it at his own expense. On the seventh of May in that year, President Andrew Jackson laid the corner stone, amid elaborate ceremonies; Mrs. Sigourney wrote a poem for the

[1] Opposite page 174. Robert Edge Pine was born in London about 1740 or 1742, and died in Philadelphia in 1788. The facsimile of a letter written by Washington in 1785, regarding a portrait of himself painted by Pine, is reproduced on page 486.

[2] The late Charles Henry Hart of Philadelphia endorsed over signature this portrait of Mary Washington as authentic.

1. The uncompleted first monument to the memory of Washington's mother.
2. The present monument.
3. Detail of inscription on present monument.

occasion; and apparently all America was eager to do tardy honor to the mother of the great Washington. Mr. Burrows, meeting with financial losses, went to China in an effort to retrieve them, but still labored faithfully for the project upon which his heart was set. When the hand of Death removed this persistent friend and lover of his country, the unfinished monument, disfigured by the small boys of Fredericksburg, who used it as a target, was eventually razed to give place to the obelisk erected by her countrywomen on the same site, said to be the only monument in America erected by women to a woman.

The life histories of Mary Ball Washington, her son George, and his wife, Martha, are—even to the present day—cherished recollections in many eminent Virginia families. Aged people are still living in and near Fredericksburg, Falmouth, Williamsburg, Richmond, Yorktown and other historic towns in Virginia, whose forebears have handed down valuable oral and written records of the Washington family, some of which have never found their way into published history and from which the author through close friendship has been able to draw.

CHAPTER XXXV

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY TO NEW YORK. HIS INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT. THE PRESIDENTIAL RÉGIME. TRAPPINGS OF STATE. LADY WASHINGTON A GRACIOUS "FIRST LADY." WASHINGTON VISITS NEW ENGLAND. PRESIDENT WASHINGTON AN ACCOMPLISHED DIPLOMAT

AT THE age of fifty-seven, his health impaired by more than forty years of ceaseless toil, George Washington set out from Virginia to take up the reins of government in New York. Though conscious of the honor, he felt no elation. The prospect was not particularly appealing to a man wearied from long service—a man who desired nothing so much as peace and quietness under his own roof-tree. For none knew better than Washington how little there is to satisfy the hunger of the spirit in the excitement and turbulence of public life.

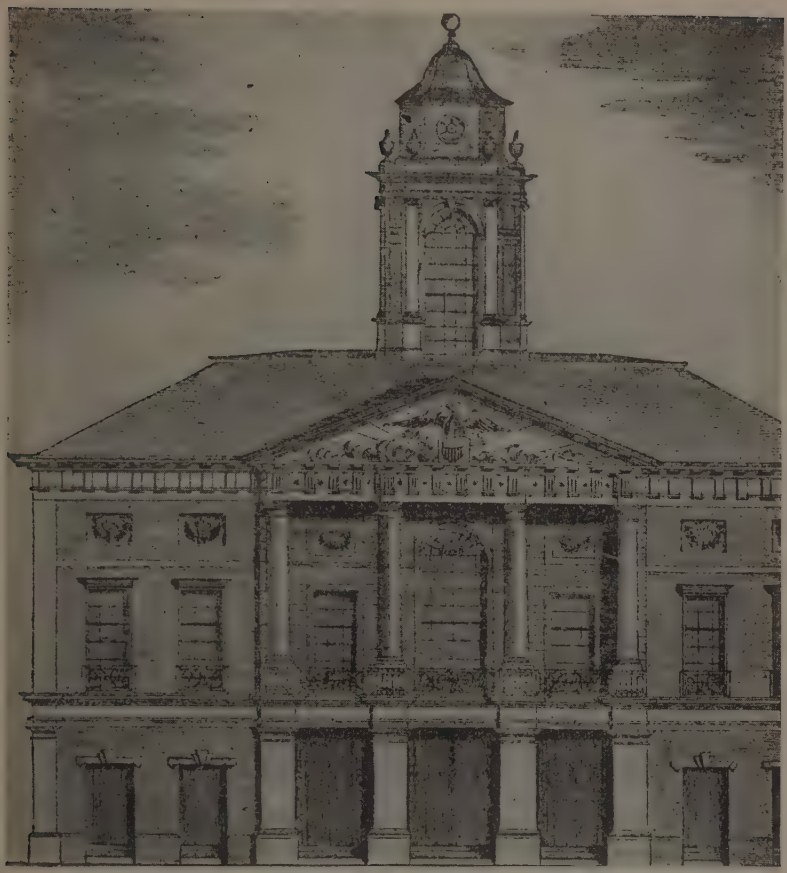
The journey from Mount Vernon to New York—like that earlier journey, in 1775, from Philadelphia to Cambridge, to take command of the army—was a continuous ovation. At Gray's Ferry, on the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, arches of laurel had been erected; and as the General rode beneath, a wreath of laurel was dropped, by an ingenious mechanical appliance, upon the hero's head.[1] This somewhat theatrical episode was supplemented, when he reached the Old York Road, in the northern part of the Quaker City, by the appearance of a bevy of maidens and matrons, clad in white and wearing floral chaplets, who strewed flowers in his path.[2]

[1] Duplicating in this feature the entrance of Queen Elizabeth into London.

[2] When the children crowded about him at Providence, Washington remarked to Count Dumas:

"We may be beaten by the English—it is the chance of war; but behold an army which they cannot conquer."

1. Washington's reception at Gray's Ferry, on his journey to New York to become president.
2. Washington's reception at Trenton.

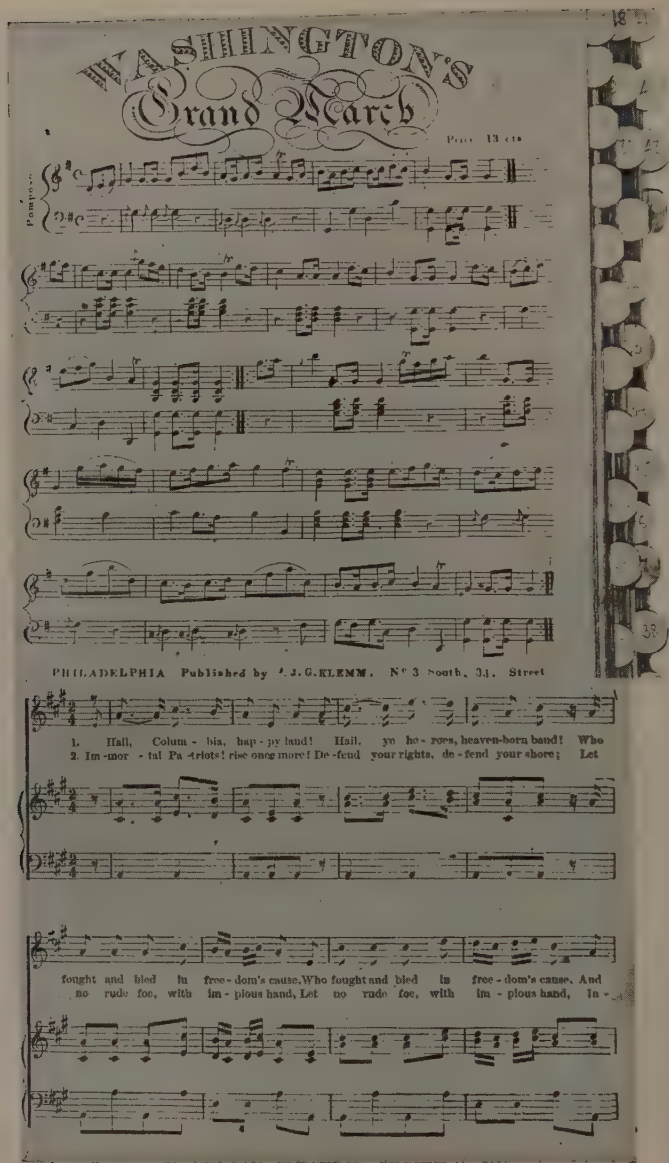


Federal Hall, scene of Washington's Inauguration.
Engraved by the Massachusetts Magazine, June, 1789.

There were triumphal arches at many points along the road. On that at Trenton was an inscription which read:

"The hero who defended the mothers December 26, 1776, will protect the daughters."

To commemorate that famous Trenton victory, thirteen young girls in white—representing the Thirteen States—greeted General Washington at Trenton Bridge, strewed



March composed specially for Washington's Inauguration known as Washington's Grand March.

flowers in his path, and chanted an ode composed especially for the occasion:

> "Welcome, mighty Chief, once more
> Welcome to this grateful shore;
> Now no mercenary foe
> Aims again the fatal blow.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers;
> Strew your hero's way with flowers!"

The General was not insensible to these flattering demonstrations of public esteem. A letter written by him to the ladies of Trenton, showing his appreciation, is still in existence:

> "General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments, to the Matrons and Young Ladies who received him in so novel and grateful a manner at the Triumphal Arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensation he experienced in that affecting moment. The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot—the elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion—and the innocent appearance of the white-robed choir who met him with the gratulatory song, have made such impressions on his remembrance as, he assures them, will never be effaced.
>
> "Trenton, April 21st,
> "1789."[1]

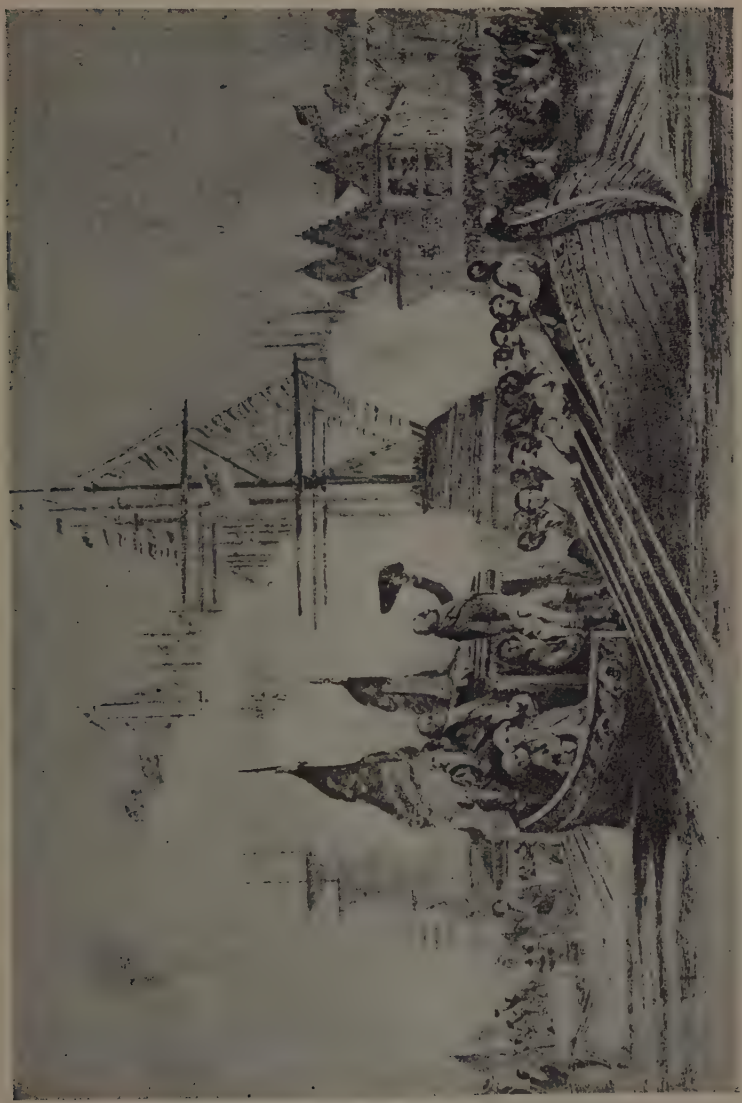
The President-elect and his cavalcade reached New York on the twenty-third of April. A flattering reception awaited them. The state barge that bore General Washington up the harbor from Perth Amboy was manned by masters of vessels in port—proud of the opportunity to volunteer for

[1] A facsimile of this letter is shown on page 184. The original is owned by Mrs. Caleb S. Green, of Trenton, New Jersey.

General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments, to the Matrons and Young Ladies who received him in so loyal & grateful a manner at the Triumphal Arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensation he experienced in that affecting moment. — The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot. The elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion — and the innocent appearance of the <u>white-robed Choir</u> who met him with the gratulatory song, have made such impressions on his remembrance as, he assures them will never be effaced. —

Trenton April 21st
1789

Letter from Washington to the ladies of Trenton, April 21, 1789.

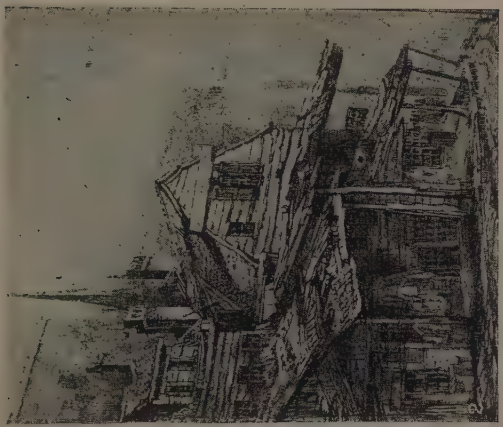


Barge landing Washington in New York, at Murray's Wharf, April 23, 1789.

such distinguished service. At Murray's Wharf, where the General landed, a crowd composed of New Yorkers of all classes — including many Revolutionary soldiers — had

1. A glimpse of New York's waterfront in 1789.
2. Trinity Church, Wall Street, and Federal Building in 1789.

assembled to greet him. Governor Clinton and General Knox escorted him, between lines of enthusiastic citizens, to the Franklin house on Cherry Street, which had been leased and prepared for his occupancy.



1. Washington landing in New York City, April 23, 1789, seven days prior to his inauguration as President.
2. Sketch of the ferry house, site of Washington's landing, near Murray Street.

A letter written by Washington not long after his arrival in New York indicates that his judicial mind placed no undue value upon the adulation bestowed upon him:

> "The display of boats which attended and joined us on this occasion, some with vocal and some with instrumental music on board; the decorations of the ships, the roar of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people, which rent the skies as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as painful (considering the reverse of this scene, which may be the case, after all my labors to do good) as they are pleasing."[1]

The Inauguration of the President had been scheduled to take place on the thirtieth of April, at Federal Hall, on

Inauguration of Washington.

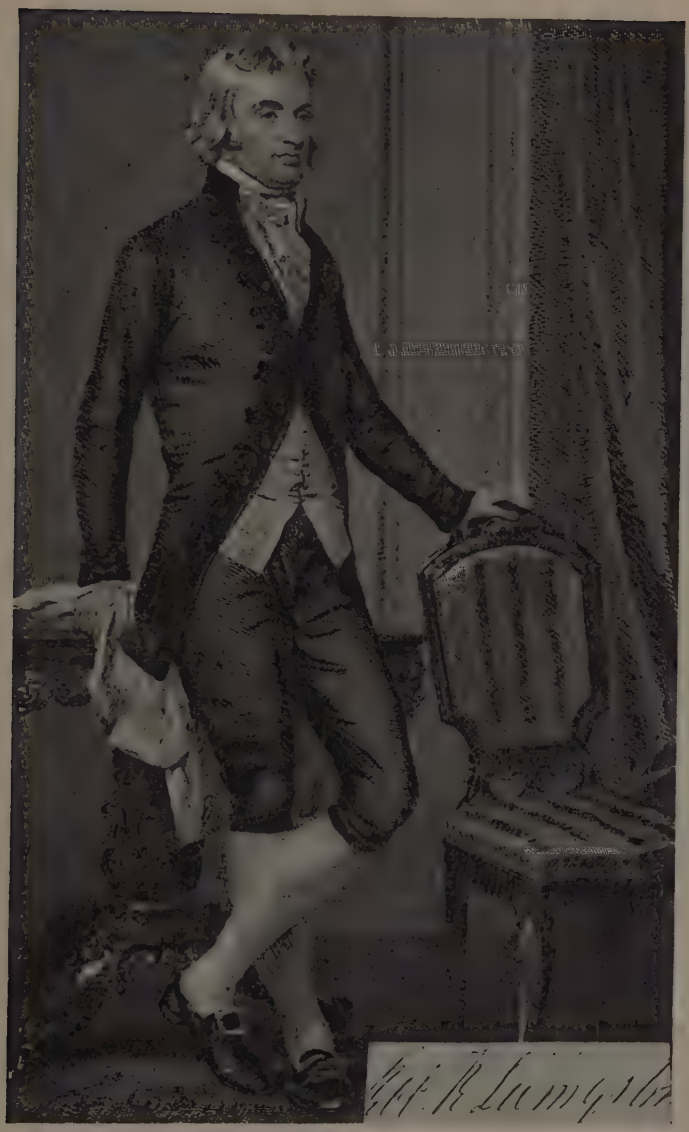
Iron rail on the balcony of Federal Hall.

Wall at the head of Broad Street (the site of the present Treasury building).[2] Considering the magnitude of the undertaking it represented, the Inauguration ceremony—which took place on the balcony[3] in the front of the building, overlooking Broad Street and in full view of the crowds assembled in the street—was simplicity itself.

[1] Washington knew intuitively what too many popular heroes have learned only through bitterly humiliating experience—that nothing is more fickle than the fancy of the populace, which swings in a moment from fulsome flattery to ruthless condemnation—the one as senseless and unjust as the other.

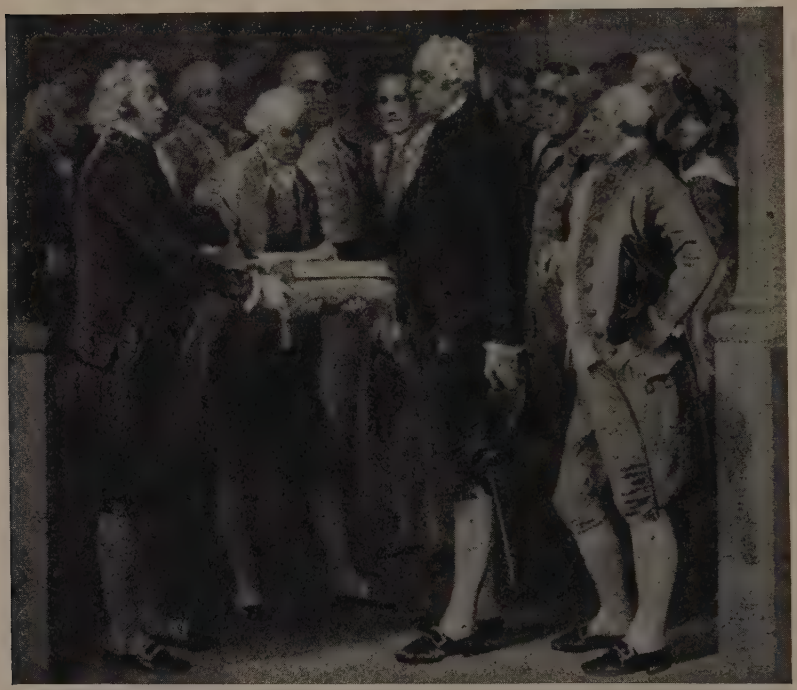
[2] There had been a delay of several days while Congress deliberated on the question of a suitable title for the Chief Executive.

[3] This balcony when removed was attached to the exterior of Bellevue Hospital, New York.



Chancellor Livingston, who administered the oath of office to Washington. *Chappel.*

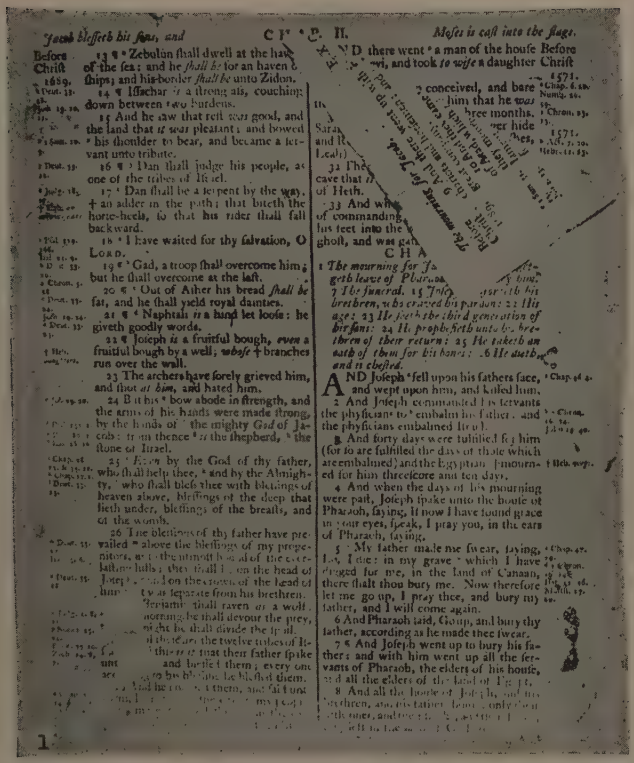
General Washington, with an escort of troops, reached Federal Hall in his coach at half after twelve on Inauguration Day. Surrounded by many of the leading men of the time — among whom were John Adams, Roger Sherman,



Inauguration of Washington as President, April 30, 1789. *Chappel.*

St. Clair, General Knox and Baron von Steuben — Chancellor Robert R. Livingston administered the oath to the President-elect:

> "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.
>
> "I swear, so help me, God!"



Jacob blesseth his sons, and CH. II. *Moses is cast into the flags.*

Before Christ 1689.

13 ¶ Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea: and he *shall be* for an haven of ships; and his border *shall be* unto Zidon.

14 ¶ Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens.

15 And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.

16 ¶ Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.

17 Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path; that biteth the horse-heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.

18 I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD.

19 ¶ Gad, a troop shall overcome him; but he shall overcome at the last.

20 ¶ Out of Asher his bread *shall be* fat, and he shall yield royal dainties.

21 ¶ Naphtali *is* a hind let loose: he giveth goodly words.

22 ¶ Joseph *is* a fruitful bough, *even* a fruitful bough by a well; *whose* branches run over the wall.

23 The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot *at him*, and hated him.

24 But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong, by the hands of the mighty *God* of Jacob; (from thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel.

25 Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee, and by the Almighty, who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts, and of the womb.

26 The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors, unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills: they shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him that was separate from his brethren.

27 Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.

28 All these are the twelve tribes of Israel: and this is it that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them.

29 And he charged them, and said unto them, I am gathered unto my people: bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite,

30 In the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a burying place.

31 There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah.

32 The purchase of the field and of the cave that is therein was from the children of Heth.

33 And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered his feet unto the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people.

CHAP. L.

1 The mourning for Jacob. 4 He obtaineth leave of Pharaoh to bury him. 7 The funeral. 15 Joseph comforteth his brethren, who craved his pardon: 22 His age: 23 He seeth the third generation of his sons: 24 He prophesieth unto his brethren of their return: 25 He taketh an oath of them for his bones: 26 He dieth, and is embalmed.

AND Joseph fell upon his fathers face, and wept upon him, and kissed him.

2 And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel.

3 And forty days were fulfilled for him (for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed): and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days.

4 And when the days of his mourning were past, Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying,

5 My father made me swear, saying, Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for me, in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come again.

6 And Pharaoh said, Go up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear.

7 ¶ And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt,

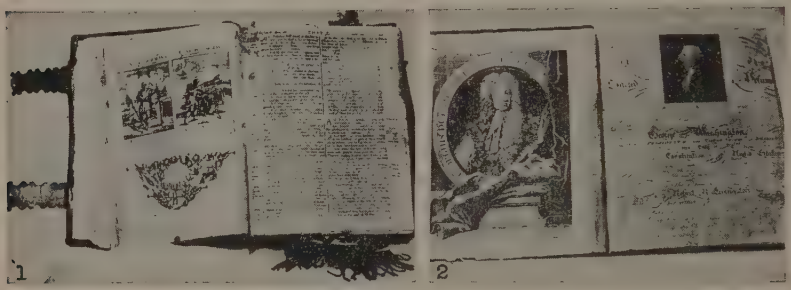
8 And all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of Goshen.

1. This leaf was turned down by Chancellor Livingston, April 30, 1789, when Washington took oath of office. *Courtesy of St. John's Lodge, New York City.*

2. Washington delivering his first Inaugural.

Washington enunciated the momentous words with deep solemnity, his hand resting on the open Bible, which he then reverently kissed.[1] So impressed was he, so overcome by emotion, that during part of the remaining ceremonies he was unable to stand.

It was, indeed, a solemn occasion for everyone present; the beginning of a new era, leading to a future which none



Bible used at Washington's Inauguration.

could foresee. The Chancellor, after administering the oath, announced the event to the crowd waiting below in these words:

"Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

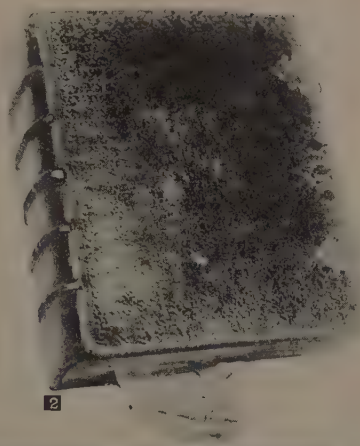
The acclamation was enthusiastically echoed by the people. The church bells rang out a joyous peal; cannon boomed a deafening salute. It was another of America's great days.

Washington's Inauguration Speech, which he delivered in person before the Senate and House of Representatives at Federal Hall on the same day, revealed his deep sense of

[1] The Inauguration Bible, which was loaned especially for the ceremonies by St. John's Masonic Lodge, New York, was opened at the last chapter of the Book of Genesis. The leaf was turned down by Chancellor Livingston. The Bible is shown here (on page 192 *et seq.*) by special permission of St. John's Lodge to the author. (See page 193.)

President Harding took the oath of office (March 4, 1921) on the same Bible, the sacred Book being carried under guard to Washington for that purpose.

1



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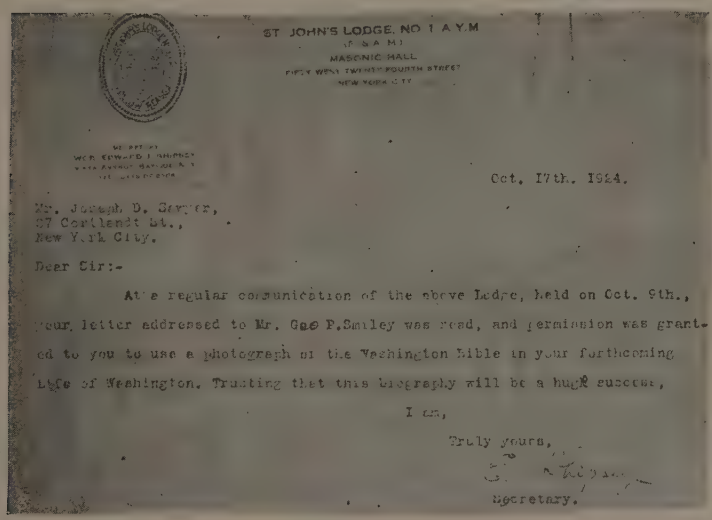


ST JOHN'S LODGE, NO 1 A.Y.M
(F. & A. M.)
MASONIC HALL
FIFTY WEST TWENTY FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Oct. 17th. 1924.

Mr. Joseph D. Sawyer,
27 Cortlandt St.,
New York City.

Dear Sir:-

At a regular communication of the above Lodge, held on Oct. 9th., your letter addressed to Mr. Geo P.Smiley was read, and permission was granted to you to use a photograph of the Washington Bible in your forthcoming Life of Washington. Trusting that this biography will be a huge success,

I am,

Truly yours,

Secretary.

1-2. Bible on which Washington took oath of office as President of the United States.

3. Letter from St. John's Lodge, giving authority to use illustration.

Apr 30 1789

Fellow Citizens of the Senate
and
of the House of Representatives

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other

ceriary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.--

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication that since he has been pleased to favour the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.--

Facsimile excerpt from Washington's Inauguration speech made before the Senate and House of Representatives in Federal Hall, New York City, April 30, 1789.

the weighty responsibilities which had been thrust upon him.[1] He referred to his preference for a tranquil life at home and to his frequent attacks of illness, saying, in conclusion:

> "Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication that since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their Union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend."[2]

The august ceremonies concluded, President Washington and most of the officials present adjourned to St. Paul's Church, on Broadway at Vesey Street, where service was held, and the divine blessing besought for the new President, his colleagues, and their combined work for the nation.

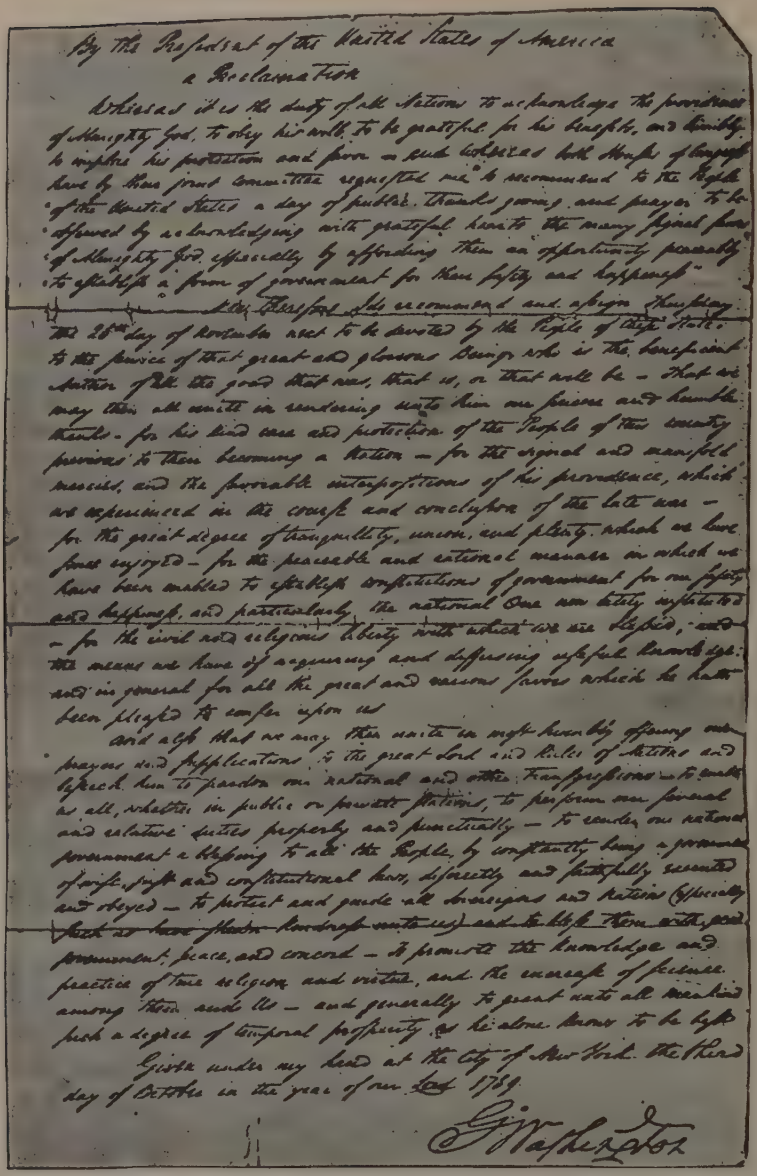
"Washington's Grand March," a musical arrangement of stirring rhythms, was composed especially for the Inauguration. It became very popular, and was always

[1] An excerpt from this speech is shown in facsimile on page 194.

Washington, as in the Revolution, declined to accept any salary as President, but later yielded to the argument that it would create a precedent which successors could not always afford to follow. He compromised by using the sum ($25,000 per year) for expenses, including rent, etc. (The Morris house in Philadelphia rented at $3,000 per year.)

[2] Washington required that both the Senate and the House of Representatives should present their replies to his Inaugural Speech at his official residence, the Franklin house.

The President appointed the first national Thanksgiving Day from Federal Hall.



By the President of the United States of America
a Proclamation

Whereas it is the duty of all Nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favor — and whereas both Houses of Congress have by their joint committee requested me to recommend to the People of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peacefully to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness.

Now therefore I do recommend and assign Thursday the 26th day of November next to be devoted by the People of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be — That we may then all unite in rendering unto Him our sincere and humble thanks — for his kind care and protection of the People of this country previous to their becoming a Nation — for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favorable interpositions of his providence, which we experienced in the course and conclusion of the late war — for the great degree of tranquillity, union, and plenty, which we have since enjoyed — for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national One now lately instituted — for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge; and in general for all the great and various favors which he has been pleased to confer upon us.

And also that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations and beseech Him to pardon our national and other transgressions — to assist us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually — to render our national government a blessing to all the People, by constantly being a government of wise, just and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed — to protect and guide all Sovereigns and Nations (especially such as have shown kindness unto us) and to bless them with good government, peace, and concord — to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the increase of science among them and us — and generally to grant unto all mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.

Given under my hand at the City of New York the third day of October in the year of our Lord 1789.

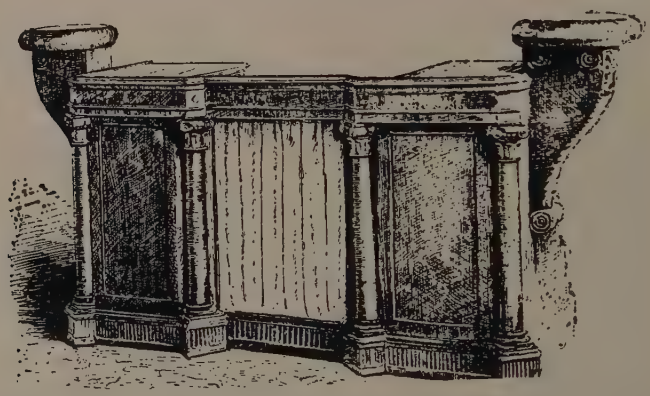
G. Washington

Facsimile of the first Thanksgiving Proclamation.

West front of St. Paul's Church, Broadway, New York City, facing the Hudson River.

played at functions which the President honored with his presence.[1]

The first Inaugural Ball was given on the seventh of May, 1789, at the DeLancey mansion on the Bouwerie—then a fashionable residential district, with attractive gardens and majestic trees. One can readily believe that this ball was a dazzling affair; for, however beautiful the ladies of those days might be, however richly attired, they could hardly be more splendid than the gentlemen—the officers in



Desk in Federal Hall, used by Washington as President, now in the Governor's Room, City Hall, New York.

their gorgeous uniforms, the civilians in their picturesque evening clothes of velvet or satin; all being further adorned with elaborately-dressed and powdered hair, fine lace ruffles, silken hose, and buckles of precious metal or diamonds at knees and insteps.

Washington's first Cabinet consisted of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, Secretary of

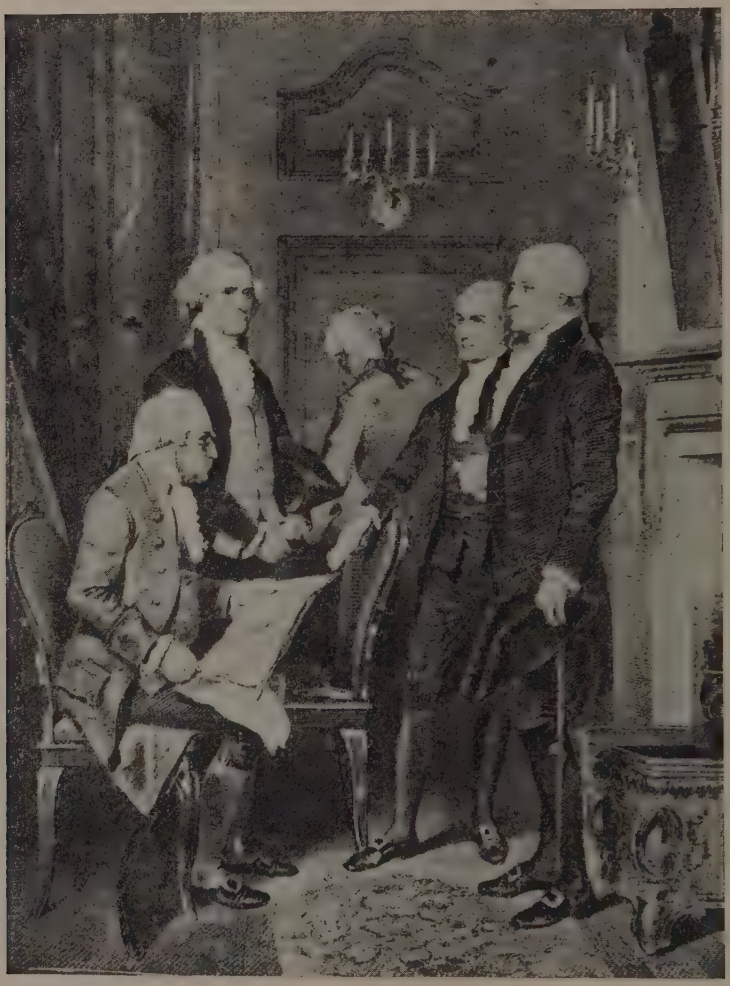
[1] This spirited March was revived for the Washington's Birthday celebration in Washington, D. C., February 22, 1926. A page of it is reproduced on page 182. Francis Hopkinson, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, wrote words for this march, under the title of "Hail, Columbia." An excerpt from the song is also shown on page 182.

War; Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General. Of these, Hamilton received

1. View of Federal Hall from Broad Street.
2. Broad Street a century earlier.

the first appointment and Knox the second. All were great statesmen, whether measured by the standards of their own time or of ours. Hamilton, though often subjected to

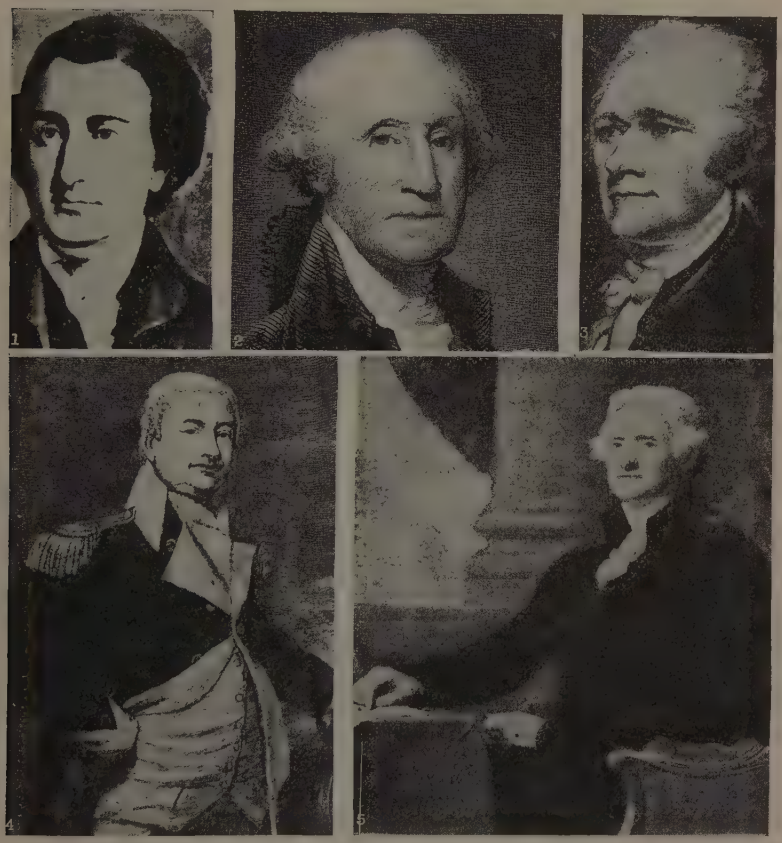
scathing criticism, solved America's financial problems by his methods of raising and disbursing money, as well as by



Washington and his first cabinet. The figure in the background is evidently intended for Edmund Randolph. *Chappel.*

an accounting system that stood the most rigorous tests. President Washington never hesitated to ask the advice of

these confrères,[1] as his exhaustive and logical letters to various members of his official family clearly prove:[2]



Washington and his cabinet:

1. Edmund Randolph. 2. George Washington. 3. Alexander Hamilton. 4. General Henry Knox. 5. Thomas Jefferson.

[1] The results were not always satisfactory when Washington requested advice, his own judgment often proving his best guide. During the Revolutionary War Anthony Wayne realized this, and his frequent reply to his Commander was, "Fight, sir, fight!"

[2] One of Washington's first acts was to form the first Supreme Court, consisting of John Jay of New York, Chief Justice; John Rutledge of South Carolina,

"We are approaching the first Monday in December by hasty strides. I pray you, therefore, to evolve in your minds . . . as may be proper for me to lay before Congress . . . that I may be prepared to open the session with such communications as shall appear to merit attention."

Washington's first Supreme Court.

1. James Wilson. 2. William Cushing. 3. James Iredell.
4. John Jay. 5. John Blair. 6. John Rutledge.

And again, to Hamilton (in 1795):

"Aid me, I pray you, with your sentiment on these points and such others as may have occurred to you relative to my communications to Congress."

James Wilson of Pennsylvania, William Cushing of Massachusetts, James Iredell of North Carolina, and John Blair of Virginia, as associate judges.

1. Ball at the Capitol during a session of Congress. *Lundgren.*
2. One of Lady Washington's receptions. *Daniel Huntington.*

The first Presidential residence in New York City—the Franklin mansion already mentioned[1]—was situated in what was then a moderately modish location, that section of Cherry Street which is now Franklin Square. It was about twelve blocks distant from Federal Hall—to which imposing building (judged by eighteenth-century standards) Washington drove for his first Inaugural ceremony in a cream-colored

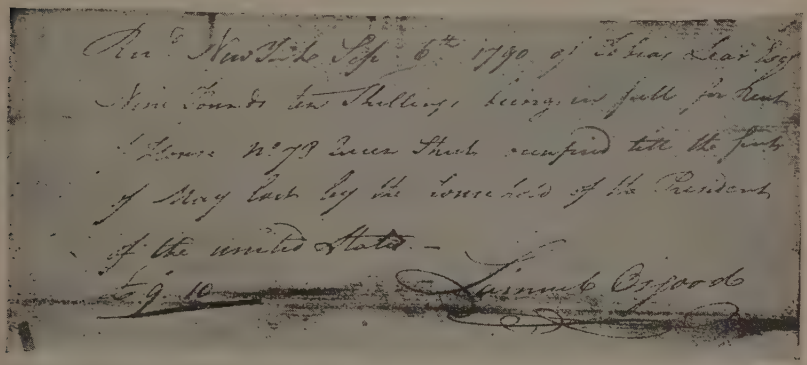
Washington's four presidential homes.

1. Franklin Square, New York.
2. Mansion house, Broadway, New York.
3. Robert Morris House, High Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
4. The Franke house at Germantown. Pa.

coach of elaborate design. One can imagine the sensation produced among the proletariat of old New York by the appearance of this gorgeous vehicle—often mud-bespattered, no doubt, since there was but one paved street in the entire

[1] The house was built by Walter Franklin, a merchant, and inherited by his widow, then Mrs. Samuel Osgood, who leased it to the Government for President Washington's occupancy. A tablet on Brooklyn Bridge locates this site.

city[1] — with its gay embellishment of the Washington coat-of-arms, supplemented by the Four Seasons; its four (frequently six) bay horses; and its postilion, coachman and two footmen in the Washington livery of vivid scarlet-and-white. The Washington coachman was a Hessian, named Fritz; but the footmen and postilion were selected from among Washington's own "people" on the Mount Vernon estate.[2] Riding ahead of the coach were Colonels Humphrys



Rent receipt for the New York house.

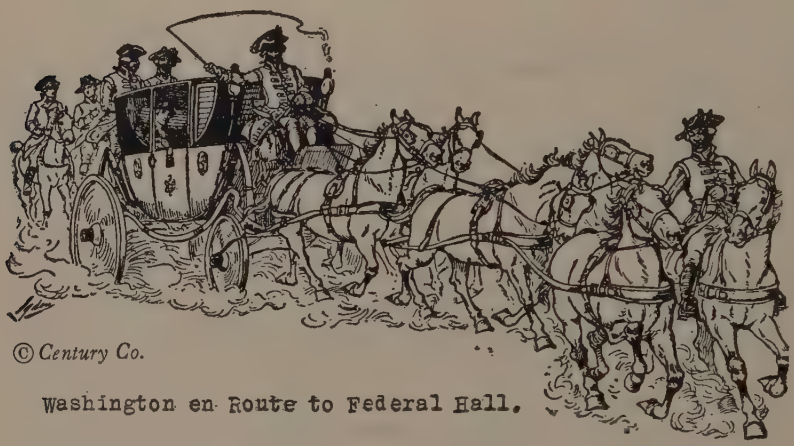
and Lear, two of the President's secretaries; while the other two secretaries, Nelson and Lewis, — also on horseback, — rode in the rear.

The President's family and entourage crowded the Franklin house to the roof. In addition to Mrs. Washington and the two Custis children, Nelly and George, the four secretaries were also members of the household. Colonel

[1] The present Stone Street. In 1657 the wife of Meinherr van Cortlandt complained so often and so vigorously of the dust that filtered into her home from the Brouwer's Straat that the authorities paved the street with stone in order to placate her. The townsfolk, jokingly, thereafter called it Stone Street; and through nearly three centuries the name has clung.

[2] Washington was often criticized for the state with which he surrounded the Presidency (John Adams sarcastically referred to "Barons of the South"—although he rarely went on the streets except in his coach); but the First President recognized the fact that most humans "dearly love a lord," and early adopted a ceremonious course.

David Humphrys was a poet as well as a soldier, although his records as a patriot and a diplomat have long outlived his poetic effusions.[1] Thomas Nelson, Jr., was the son of a former Governor of Virginia.[2] Robert Lewis was a son of Washington's sister Betty. Colonel Tobias Lear was not only confidential secretary to President Washington, but at one time tutor to his two adopted children.[3]



© Century Co.

Washington en Route to Federal Hall.

It had been no more Mrs. Washington's desire than her husband's to leave the pleasant atmosphere of Mount Vernon

[1] Owing to cramped quarters in the Franklin house, it was necessary for secretaries Humphrys, Nelson and Lear to occupy one large room; and it is related that the poetic Humphrys so exasperated his room-mates by his midnight wooings of the Muse that they fled from sight and sound of poetry thereafter.

[2] Vol. I, page 399, footnote 1.

[3] Colonel Lear was the son of Tobias Lear, a shipmaster of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He was born at Portsmouth in 1762, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1783. He entered the Washington household shortly afterward as a tutor to the Custis children, and so endeared himself to General Washington that from 1786 until the General's death in 1799 he was in the closest confidence of the Washingtons, managing many of the household affairs, and relieving both the General and his wife of many cares.

Colonel Lear was married three times—first, to Mary Long of New Hampshire; second, to the widowed Frances Bassett Washington (the Fanny Bassett—Mrs. Washington's niece—who had first married George Augustine Washington, a

for the public life of the Executive Mansion. To an intimate friend she wrote:

> "I little thought, when the war was finished, that any circumstances could possibly happen which would call the General into public life again. I had anticipated from that moment we should be suffered to grow old together in solitude and tranquillity. That was the first and dearest wish of my heart."

In June, 1789, only two months after his inauguration, President Washington—who had been ailing for sometime before leaving Mount Vernon—was seized with a severe and dangerous illness, and for a time the attending physicians despaired of his life. The profound anxiety felt throughout the States was reflected in an item printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of June 19, 1789:

> "The President has been much indisposed for several days past, which has caused great anxiety in the breast of every true friend of America. Wednesday he was visited by several physicians, and a chain extended across the street to prevent the passing of carriages before his door. The sidewalks were laid with straw." [1]

It is seldom remembered that Washington's health was far from good.

favorite nephew of the General's); and, after her death, to another widowed niece of Mrs. Washington's, Frances Dandridge Henly.

It is a sad commentary on the uncertainties of life that this man, who was so esteemed by and for so many years enjoyed the friendship of the great Washington, ultimately died by his own hand; although it may have been that his great loss in Washington's death robbed life of its savor. He committed suicide on the eleventh of October, 1816, at the age of fifty-four. By his first wife he had one son, Benjamin Lincoln Lear (named for General Lincoln), who was a prime favorite with Washington. Benjamin Lear died in 1832, and was buried beside his father in the Congressional Cemetery.

[1] This is still a common practice in the towns of the Middle West, in cases of illness among distinguished persons. The stretching of chains across the street in front of a church during hours of worship is another old-time custom not entirely discontinued in religious communities.

1. The famous Tea Water Pump in Chatham Street (to-day Park Row). Public pumps, as a rule, were to be found every four blocks in New York. Water peddling was also a regular business in Philadelphia, and the water peddlers to be found every four squares were as familiar to the populace as Tony, the ice man, or Jimmy, the fish dealer, of the present day. Water peddling was lucrative.

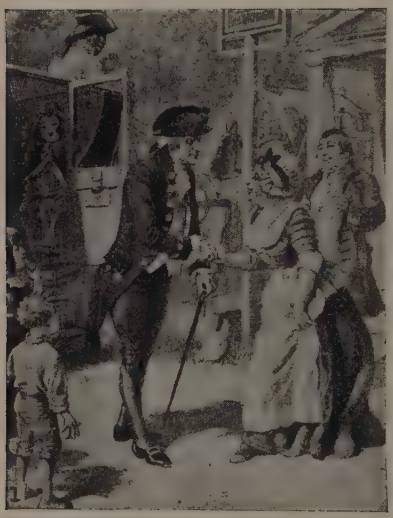
2–3. Trinity Church before and after the war. Trinity Church was a revered shrine to the average New Yorker, both before and after the fire, and the knowledge that one's bones would rest within the shadow of its steeple frequently eased the dying hours of both saint and sinner.

Washington stopping at an inn on his Boston journey. *F. Luis Mora*

On the third of July President Washington—still suffering, though improved—wrote to James McHenry:

> "I am much incommoded by the incision which was made in a very large and painful tumor (bubo) on the protuberance on my thigh."

Upon his recovery, the President started upon the first of two journeys which he had been planning for some



1–2. President Washington on his way to Boston. © *Century Co.*

time: one to the North as far as Boston; the other through the South as far as Savannah. A third—planned later—penetrated into and beyond the Mohawk Valley, and was designed to study the outlook for developing the West. It was part of Washington's plan, on these trips, to meet the State Governors in person, and to become more closely acquainted with the people and the conditions in which they lived.

The first of these journeys took Washington into New England, where many of the towns saluted his approach

1. All tasks were at a standstill when the President passed.
2. Washington going through Worcester on horseback on his trip to Boston.

© Centnry Co.

with detonations of gunpowder. The clarion call, "Light your bonfires; the white chariot is coming over the hill!"[1] stirred the whole country—from New York City to the sea on the Eastern coast. Merchants left their shops; farmers dropped their implements in the fields and ran to the roadside; housewives deserted their domestic tasks; all were eager to see the President pass by.

Referring to this journey, President Washington wrote, under date of October 15, 1789:

> "Commenced my journey about nine o'clock for Boston and a tour through the Eastern States.
>
> "October 16. We left the widow Haviland's, and after passing Horse Neck, breakfasted at Stamford, Conn." [2]

At Worcester, Massachusetts, Washington left the coach and rode through the town on horseback at the request of his old soldiers, who wanted to see their Commander-in-Chief in the form they knew and loved.

The little Massachusetts village of Beverly swelled with national and civic pride when, on the thirtieth of October, the President's coach halted at the door of New England's first cotton mill. Washington's quick eye and active brain, absorbing everything within sight, saw at a glance the importance of domestic cotton manufacture to the United States. In his diary is this entry:

> "After passing Beverly two miles, we came to the cotton manufactory, which seems to be carrying on

[1] When in the army General Washington travelled mainly on horseback; as President, he used his state coach, with outriders and mounted aides—a memorable sight for the country-folk.

[2] Stamford, Conn., claims the unique distinction of having built a scaffold on which the tea owned by a local grocer was burned in the presence of large crowds. Sylvanus Whitney, the culprit, was arraigned before the Committee of Observation in June, 1775, and confessed that he had been smuggling Bohea tea since the first of March. This was when tea was proscribed among the Colonists. The site of Fort Stamford erected by Washington is still shown.

Washington visiting America's first cotton mill in New England at Beverly, Massachusetts.
© *State Street Trust Company, Boston, Mass.*

with spirit by the Mr. Cabbots. . . . The whole seemed perfect, and the cotton stuffs that they turn out excellent of their kind; warp and filling both are now of cotton."

Arriving at Cambridge on Saturday, October 24, the President was met by Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Adams and the Executive Council of Boston, Governor ("King") Hancock being kept at home by an attack of gout. According to the President's diary, these officers preceded him into the city, "which was in every degree flattering and honorable," he says; while his reception by the Bostonians, of which he gives a minute account, was of an extremely elaborate nature, including triumphal arches, an imposing parade, a formal welcome at the State House, and "an ode composed in honor of the President, and sung by a band of select singers." After all this:

"I was conducted to my lodging at a widow Ingersoll's (which is a very decent and good house) by the Lieut. Gov. and Council, accompanied by the Vice-President, when they took leave of me.

"Having engaged yesterday to take an informal dinner with the Governor to-day (but under a full persuasion that he would have waited upon me as soon as I should have arrived) I excused myself upon his not doing it, and informing me thro his Secretary that he was too indisposed to do it, being resolved to receive the visit. Dined at my lodgings, where the Vice-President favored me with his company."

On the following day, Sunday, the President attended the Episcopal Church in the morning and the Congregational Church in the afternoon. The diary continues:

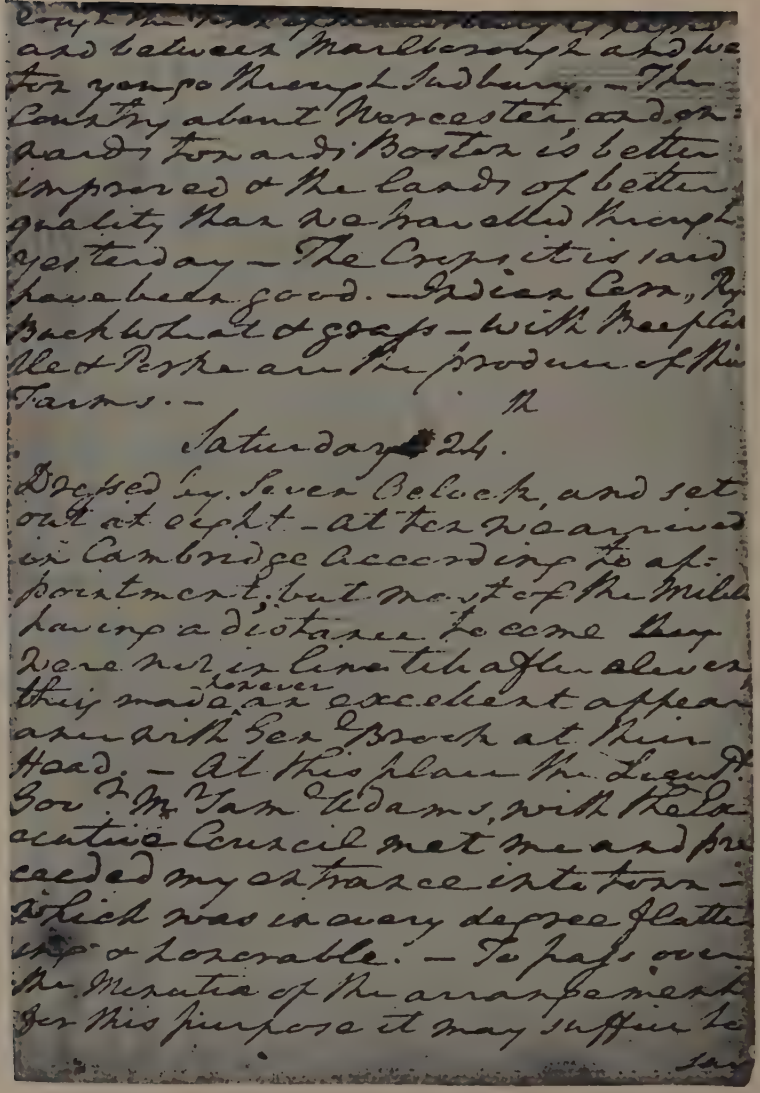
"Mr. Bowdoin accompanied me to both churches. Between the two I received a visit from the Governor, who assured me that indisposition alone had prevented

October - 1789

say that at the entrance I was
welcomed by the Select men in a
body — These following the Lieut.
Gov.r & Council in the order we
came from Cambridge (preceded
by the Town Corps very handsom-
ly dressed) we passed through the
Citizens classed in their diffe-
rent professions, and under their
own banners, till we came to the
State House; from which across
the street an arch was thrown
in the front of which was this
Inscription — "To the Man who u-
nites all hearts" — and on the
other: "To Columbia's favourite
son" — and on one side thereof near
the State House, in a panel deco-
rated with a trophy, composed of
the arms of the United States — of
the Commonwealth of Massachu-
setts — and our French allies, cro-
wned with a wreath of laurel was
this Inscription — "Boston delivered
March 17th 1776" — This arch was
handsomely ornamented, and over
the Center of it a Canopy was erec-
ted on the top — after pas-
sing through the Arch, and dis-
mounting the State House at the S.d H.
cending to the upper floor & return-
ing to a Balcony at the N.d end —
three cheers was given by a vast
concourse of people who by this
time had assembled at the Arch
— then followed an ode composed
in honor of the President, and
sung by a band of select
singers — &c. This three cheers
— followed by the different Profes-
sions, and Mechanics in their dr.
they were drawn up with their
colours through a lane of the
People which had thronged at
the arch under which they pas-
sed. — The streets, the docks, wha-
ves & tops of the Houses were
crowded with well dressed Ladies
and Gentlemen. — The procession
being over I was conducted by
my Lordships at a Widow Ingra-
hams (which is a very decent th-
ed house) by the Lieut. Gov.r and
Council — accompanied by the Vice
— President where they took Cha-

[215]

Facsimile of Washington's description of his Boston trip, and the Governor Hancock episode.



and between Marlborough and Wa-
ter town so through Sudbury. — The
Country about Worcester and on
towards Boston is better
improved & the lands of better
quality than we travelled through
yesterday — The Crops, it is said
have been good. — Indian Corn, Ry
Buckwheat & grass — with Beef Pork
Ale & Perhe are the product of the
Farms. —

Saturday 24.

Dressed by Seven Oclock, and set
out at eight — at ten we arrived
in Cambridge according to ap-
pointment, but most of the Milit
having a distance to come they
were not in line till after eleven
they made forever an excellent appear-
ance with Gen Brooks at their
Head. — At this place the Lieut.
Gov. & Mr Sam Adams, with the Lega-
cative Council met me and pre-
ceeded my entrance into town —
which was in every degree flatte-
ing & honorable. — To pass over
the Minutia of the arrangement
for this purpose it may suffice to
say

Facsimile of Washington's description of his Boston trip, and the Governor Hancock episode.

his doing it yesterday, and that he was still indisposed; but as it had been suggested that he expected to *receive* the visit from the President, which he knew was improper, he was resolved at all hazards to pay his compliments to-day. The Lieut. Gov. and two of the Council . . . were sent here last night to express the Governor's concern that he had not been in a condition to call upon me so soon as I came to town. I informed them in explicit terms that I should not see the Governor unless it was at my own lodgings."

There must have been considerable rancor about this affair; but Washington, being determined to settle once for all the supremacy of the President of the United States over the State Governors, firmly held his ground—and came off with flying colors, as he usually did. On Monday all was peace.

"The day being rainy and stormy—myself much disordered by a cold and inflammation in the left eye—I was prevented from visiting Lexington (where the first blood in the dispute with Great Britain was drawn). Receiving the compliment of many visitors to-day . . . and in the evening I drank tea with Governor Hancock." [1]

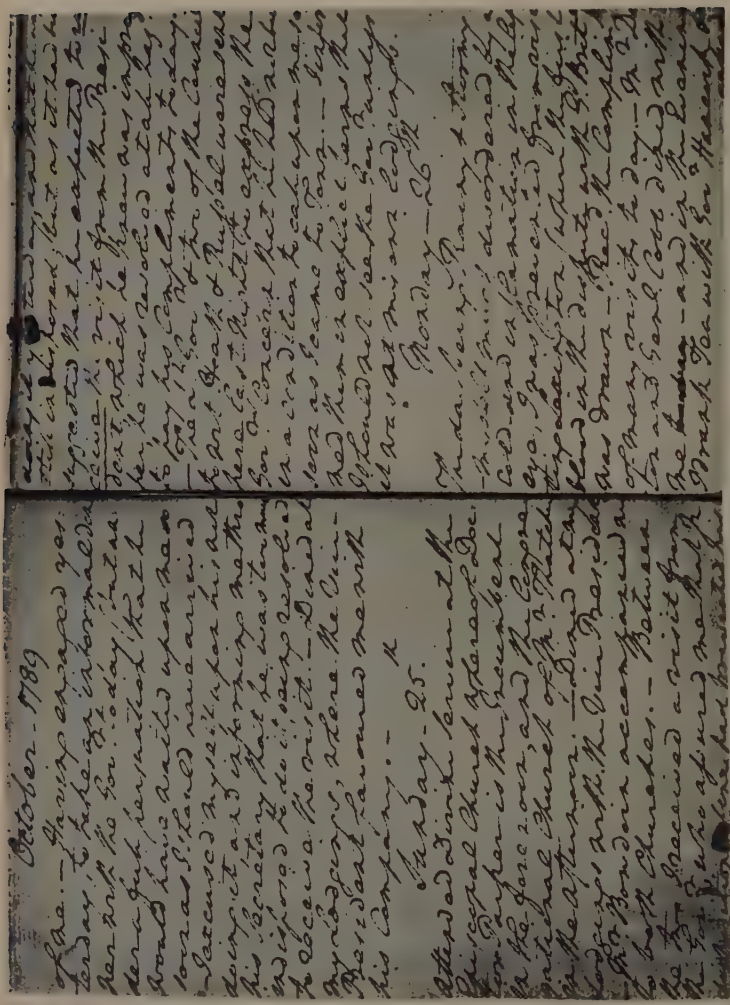
President Washington did not, on this visit to New England, include Rhode Island in his itinerary—perhaps

[1] John Hancock's gout was an old stand-by. Thirteen years before, when he—as president of Congress, had invited General and Mrs. Washington to be his guests at Philadelphia, an attack of gout blocked the visit.

President Washington never yielded one iota of what he believed to be due his high office as Chief Executive of the United States. Yet in his personal life he was one of the most democratic of men. In 1786, at Mount Vernon, he had said:

"Mr. Lear, or any other man who may come into my family in the blended characters of preceptor to the children and clerk or private secretary to me, will sit at my table, will live as I live, will mix with the company who resort to the house, will be treated in every respect with civility and proper attention."

While in the army Wasl.ington shared his bed one cold night with a negro who had been on post as sentry.



October - 1789

Facsimile of page from Washington's diary, treating of his Boston visit.

purposely making this omission by way of retaliation for tardiness of that state in accepting the Federal Constitution.[1]

In his diary, under date of November 8, 1789 Washington says of the return journey:

> "It being contrary to law and disagreeable to the people of this State, Connecticut, to travel on the Sabbath, I stayed at Permins' Tavern (which, by the way, is not a good one), all day. The meeting house being but a few rods from the door, I attended morning and evening service, and heard very lame discourses from a Mr. Enoch Pond." [2]

He breakfasted in Stamford on the twelfth of November, and arrived in New York on the following day.

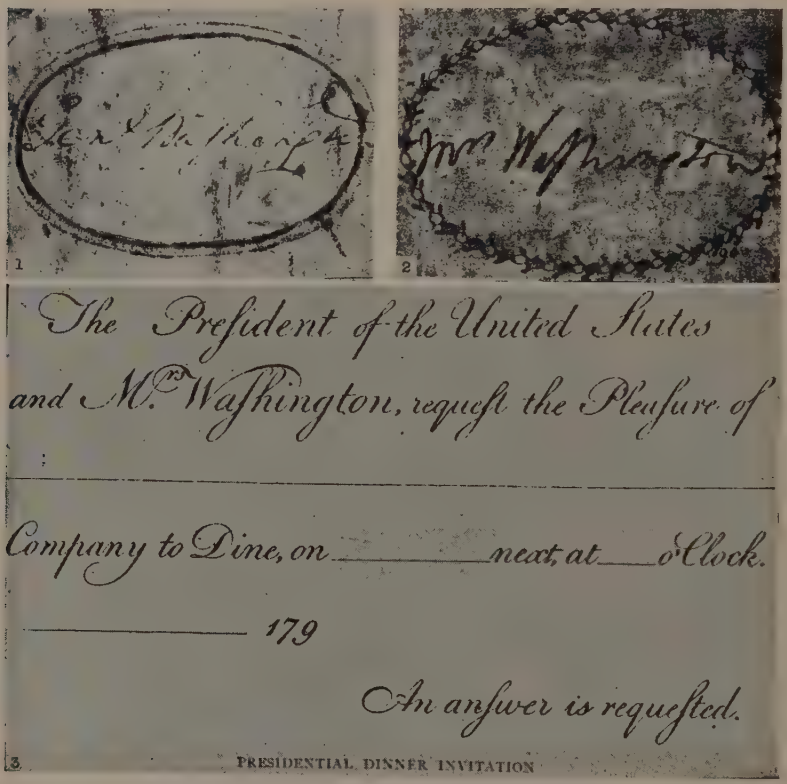
It had quickly become apparent that the Franklin house was but ill adapted to the manifold requirements of the President's ménage, and more spacious and convenient quarters were earnestly sought. The most aristocratic residential section of New York in the late eighteenth century was west of Broadway and south of the Common (City Hall Park); and when the French ambassador, de Moustier, vacated the Alexander McComb house in the vicinity of the present 39 Broadway, it was immediately secured for the Presidential residence, being renamed the Mansion House. It was admittedly the finest house in town, with spacious rooms, a stately approach, and an extended view of the Hudson. The Franklin house was now relinquished, and the President and his household moved into the more commodious domicile.

In the Mansion House was centred the most exclusive

[1] In 1790 President Washington visited Newport in his own barge, taking the trip for the benefit of his health after Congress had adjourned. On that occasion he attended a banquet at which one of the toasts was: "May the last be first"—a delicate allusion to the fact that Rhode Island had been the last State to ratify the Constitution.

[2] Thus immortalizing the parson and the tavern-keeper together—both for their shortcomings.

social life of the New York of that day; for, aside from their official importance, the Washingtons were gentlefolk on both sides of the house—Mrs. Washington's as well as the General's. The receipt or non-receipt of the Presidential



1–2. Calling cards of George and Martha Washington.
3. Presidential dinner invitation.

invitation to dine provoked an ecstatic thrill—or a pang of disappointment, as the case might be—in many an aspiring soul; and that social leader in whose hall the visiting cards of General and Mrs. Washington were prominently displayed felt that she had reason to be proud indeed.

Punctuality was the rule for dinner guests, as well as for the family, in the Washington home. The President permitted five minutes' leeway for unexpected delays. A late comer was likely to be greeted with the pungent remark:

"Sir, we are too punctual for you. I have a cook who never asks whether the company has come, but whether the hour has come."[1]

A too officious master of ceremonies made one of the early Presidential receptions ridiculous by its ostentation. Washington, always extremely sensitive, exclaimed:

"You've taken me in once, but, by gad, you shall never take me in a second time!"

There was no ostentation apparent in Presidential receptions thereafter.

The Thursday state dinners, which began promptly at four o'clock, included European courtiers and American congressmen—often twenty or more, in addition to the family. Mrs. Washington sat at the head of the table, with the General at her right, while Colonel Lear sat at the foot.

The Tuesday and Friday levées—later cut to a reception from three to four o'clock on Tuesday—were exclusively for men. Standing in a room devoid of chairs, the President received his guests with a dignified bow, the hand-shake being omitted. The conversation was formal and upon the stroke of four the guests departed.

At the drawing-rooms, held on Friday evenings from seven to nine, ladies had an opportunity to meet the President. It was at one of these functions, so the story runs, that Miss McIvers' lofty coiffure, topped with ostrich feathers after the fashion of the times, came into disastrous

[1] Napoleon followed Washington's example. In each case, the five minutes' grace was allowed for a possible difference in watches, not as an excuse for tardiness. It was considered proper for guests to arrive a few moments before the hour appointed.

collision with a candle flame in the chandelier. Only Major Jackson's prompt action prevented a grave catastrophe.

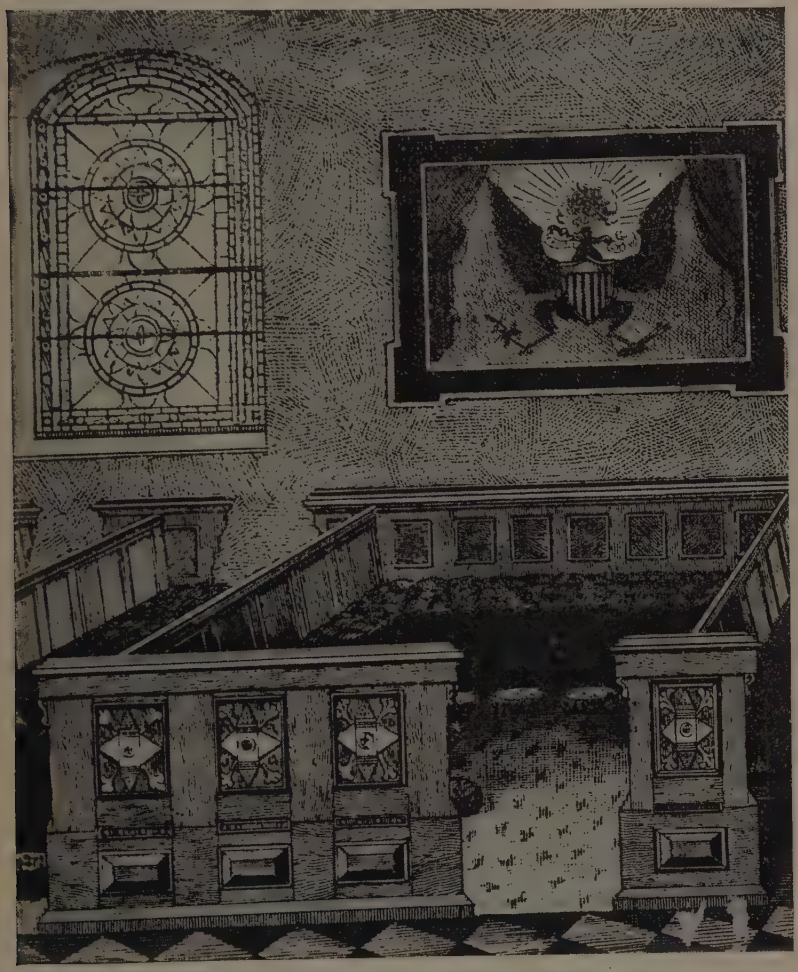
The question of courtesy titles, as used in state circles in England and France, was frequently discussed; but the democratic spirit finally won, the only title that weathered the "tempest in a teapot" being that of "Lady" Washington. No one grudged this distinction to the President's gracious

A Washington reception. © *Harper Brothers.*

wife, who was as kindly as she was good. Lady Washington's receptions were brilliant and picturesque, where the favored guest was assured of meeting the flower of America's beauty, culture and wealth.

Prior to the Inauguration, there had been—as already recorded—considerable controversy in Congress as to the proper title for the nation's Chief Executive. "The President of the United States," which was finally chosen, seemed to fit the situation, and pleased Washington by its directness and simplicity.

President Washington's days were as long and as crowded with business as the days of George Washington, Virginia



The Washington pew in St. Paul's Church, New York City.

squire and planter. From four in the morning until nine at night he was constantly occupied—planning, writing, conferring, or taking needful exercise. On Sunday mornings

he and his family attended St. Paul's Church, on Broadway, occupying the square pew that is still to be viewed.[1] Part of Sunday afternoon was devoted to social correspondence, but this was not permitted to interfere with the customary Bible reading with Mrs. Washington.

Although much attention has been given in these pages to the family and social life of the Washingtons in the Presidential mansion, it is not to be supposed that President

Washington leaving St. Paul's. *Painted by Jennie Brownscomb.*

Washington slighted his official duties. Nothing could be further from the truth. Slowly, but surely, the nation was being stabilized; and the President was effectually contributing his quota to this end, in Cabinet and in Congress, though in both were discordant elements that occasionally

"Old St. Paul's," as it is generally known to New Yorkers who love their city, has been restored to the original state in which George Washington knew it. The work of restoration was planned, and partly carried out, by the late Thomas Nash, architect and art lover, whose death in January, 1926, prevented his seeing it completed.

blocked his efforts. Here, in his official residence, the Mansion House,[1] he established for all time America's status among the nations. Prideful ambassadors who came thither with their subtle foreign diplomacy and tenacity over questions of statesmanship encountered, in the President of the United States, a finer diplomacy and a stronger tenacity than their own.

The same dignified demeanor that successfully parried the thrusts of haughty ambassadors served Washington in his dealings with Congress. He, who had suffered so many humiliations at the hands of the Legislature in the past, brooked no interference now. He reached his decisions and made his appointments independently; he refused to produce papers over which the law gave him undisputed authority, and—when occasion permitted—had Congress wait upon him at his home. Washington, as President, was pre-eminently "the right man in the right place" in that crucial period of nation-building; for he could and did control not only the people, but leaders of the people — and won honor and respect.

The difficulties besetting the President's path can be fully realized only when it is recalled that Congress still held a few unconvinced members who looked askance at the new Government and Constitution; while the number of lawyers assembled from the Thirteen States was far in

[1] This historic mansion, known later as Bunker's Mansion House, finally went down to oblivion *via* the boarding-house route and was eventually swept entirely out of existence by the rising tide of New York's business.

Historic ground lay all about this last New York home of General Washington. Adjoining it on the north—at and above 41 Broadway—was the site upon which Adrian Block, Dutch explorer of Long Island Sound, is said to have built his huts; and here, also, after the burning of his craft, *Tigress*, he built the first boat ever constructed by a white man in the North. The authority for this statement is found in a bronze tablet placed on the wall of No. 41 Broadway; although other authorities say that no one knows the actual site of the shipbuilding activities of Skipper Block, of Block's Island, whose map of Manhattan made the name "New Netherland" official. By a curious coincidence, the name "New England" was, on the same day, made official in London.

excess of actual requirements. Some of these, looking for profitable litigation, kept Congress in turmoil.[1] In handling the Legislature and the ever-increasing body of lobbyists, Washington displayed the astuteness and diplomacy that were to be expected of the man who had achieved a brilliant success in military strategy and in cutting away European entanglements.

The President's first veto was applied to the bill known as "The Bill for the Apportionment of Representatives"; and the reason he gave for it was that "the Constitution provides for representation by the people." In April, 1790, he signed the first Patent Law. On the sixteenth of July, in the same year, President Washington approved the bill locating territory "not exceeding ten miles square, on the banks of the Potomac, for a permanent seat of government." This was the initial step in the planning of what Washington called "Federal City," but is to-day known the world over as the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia.[2]

[1] The multiplication of lawyers in proportion to the rest of the community is an interesting study. In 1788 there were in New York City two hundred and twelve lawyers and eleven clergymen. In Boston, between the years 1637–1640, there was but one lawyer. His name was Tom Lechford, and he left the city for lack of business. Evidently early Bostonians had little use for lawyers.

[2] It is said that Port Royal came within one vote of being selected for the site of the National Capital. For additional information concerning Federal City, refer to Vol. I, page 105.

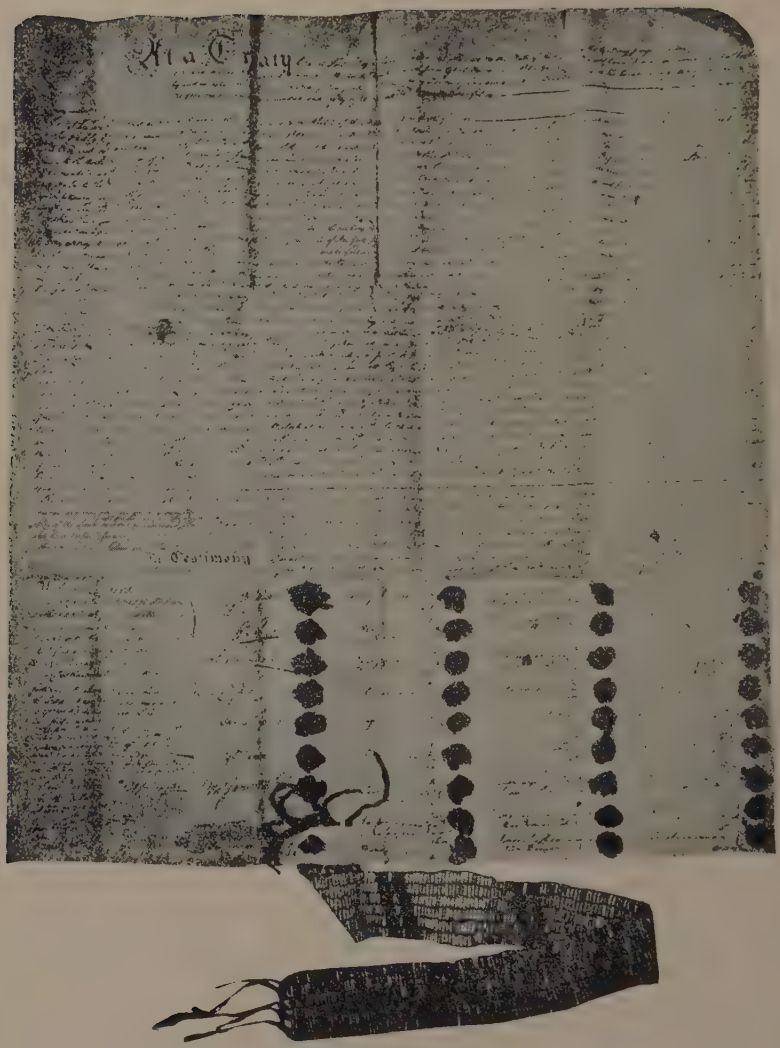
CHAPTER XXXVI

TREATY WITH THE INDIANS. STATE RIGHTS. THE PRESIDENTIAL FAMILY MOVES TO PHILADELPHIA. THE SOUTHERN TRIP. ST. CLAIR'S MISTAKE. SECOND INAUGURATION. NEUTRALITY ACT. GENET INCITES THE POPULACE. WASHINGTON MOBBED. GENET RECALLED. YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC. THE WHISKEY REBELLION. WASHINGTON'S JOURNEY WESTWARD. IMBROGLIO OVER JAY TREATY. WASHINGTON DECLINES THIRD TERM

IT HAS been shown in earlier chapters that the name of Washington had long been known and respected among Indian tribes. George Washington's first American ancestor, the pioneer John Washington, had been named "Conotocarius"—Devourer of Villages—by the Indians of his day;[1] and after the Sullivan expedition of 1779, with its sweeping devastation of Indian haunts, the same significant appellation had been bestowed upon his militant great-grandson, General George Washington. Destruction was not, however, Washington's dominant idea. "Propitiate the Indians—and use them," was one of his maxims. It was a course which had been earlier adopted by both the British and the French, but with far different motives.

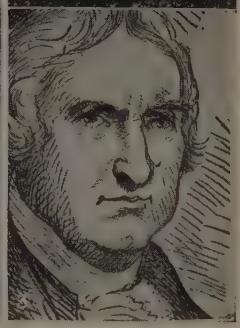
Washington knew the Indian temperament and respected the Indian pride. In 1779, when planning the subjugation of the Iroquois Confederacy as a necessity of war, he had invited the chief warriors of the Oneidas to visit him in his New Jersey camp, and had secured their lasting fealty by his

[1] Refer to Vol. I, page 53.



The Oneida Treaty.

courteous treatment of them.[1] As a result of this a pact was formed with this powerful tribe, paving the way for the Fort Schuyler treaty of 1788, by which the Oneida Indians ceded their lands to the State of New York.[2]



1. Marinus Willett demanding and obtaining the British muskets.
2. Marinus Willett. 3. Governor George Clinton, of New York.

[1] We learn from an army surgeon's diary that the Continental soldiers expected to have some sport at the expense of the Indian visitors to the camp, but quickly changed their viewpoint when their Commander donned his most elaborate uniform, mounted his most spirited horse, and ordered out his best dressed regiment (under the command of General Anthony Wayne, the "dude" of the army), in order to welcome the red warriors. The latter returned to their wigwams stout allies of the Paleface Chief; some of them to maintain neutrality, others to yield willing service as scouts, guides and interpreters—thus powerfully aiding the Sullivan expedition.

[2] See facsimile of the Treaty, on page 228.

In 1790 President Washington, desiring further to cement the amity between the United States and the Indians, sent Colonel Marinus Willett[1] to invite Alexander McGillivray, Chief of the Creek Indians, to visit New York with his councillors.[2]

"Tell them," he said, "how happy it would make Conotocarius to have an opportunity of taking them by the hand."[3]

Washington parading Broadway with his Indian guests. © *Harper Bros.*

Close to thirty Creeks accepted the invitation, and President Washington — treating them with diplomatic

[1] A bronze tablet at the corner of Broad and Beaver Streets, New York City, sets forth the fact that during the Revolution Colonel Marinus Willett seized a wagon load of British muskets on this site, and held them, despite all protests. Colonel Willett was not only a capable officer, but made an enviable record as Mayor of the City. He was a great-great-grandson of Thomas Willett, first Mayor of New York City.

[2] McGillivray, the son of a Scottish trader, had married the daughter of a chief of the Creek nation, which governed Florida and a considerable portion of Georgia and Alabama.

[3] With his enormous right hand, President Washington could—and did—make that "taking by the hand" a ceremony long to be remembered. The Indian Chief delighted to give the Paleface Chief a vigorous hand-clasp; but in return received one so vise-like that the bones crackled.

courtesy,[1] and aided by Colonel Willett's influence — had little difficulty in effecting the treaty he sought. It was signed on the seventh of August, 1790, and formally ratified on the thirteenth of the same month.

Scarcely more than six months after settling down in the stately Mansion House—for which Washington had built an expensive stable, with accommodation for twenty horses—it became necessary for the Presidential ménage to move to Philadelphia; the result of a bone of contention thrown into Congress in the form of a revival of the old controversy—State Rights *versus* National Supremacy, vested in a Confederation of States.[2]

Hamilton and Jefferson had come bitterly to grips over this question—in a historic conflict which stretched over ten years or more; Jefferson preaching the doctrine of State Rights in and out of season, advising that "each State hoe its own row," while Hamilton fought strenuously in behalf of his theory of an United Federation—arguing in favor of the richer States paying the debts of the poorer. In this instance Hamilton gained his point by trading New York's chance of being the capital for debt-indorsement by the Southern States. Party feeling ran so high in Congress that even so immaterial a matter as the location of the legislative sessions brought it to the verge of dissolution; this being ultimately averted by the selection of Philadelphia as the seat of government for a period of ten years.[3]

It was not easy sailing for the President at this time; nor,

[1] It was an impressive sight for New Yorkers when President Washington walked on the streets with a group of those visiting "First Americans"; while it deeply gratified the Indians' innate love of display.

[2] It was a similar dilemma to that which had confronted the Dutch Republic in 1619; settled in that instance by the formation of the West India Company in 1621, under which at a later period the area of four colonies — New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware—was first occupied by settlers with their families.

[3] Federalism—with its promise of a stronger government—eventually triumphed, holding the balance of power until 1803, when the political pendulum swung in the opposite direction.

indeed, at any time during his occupancy of the high office, as he not infrequently remarked. The Ship of State that he commanded was afloat on an uncharted sea; or, as he himself expressed it, in a letter written in 1790:

> "In our progress toward political happiness, my station is new, and, if I may use the expression, I walk on untrodden ground. There is, therefore, scarcely any part of my conduct which may not be drawn into precedent. . . . That the government, though not actually perfect, is one of the best in the world, I have little doubt."

An interesting and unusual gift which found its way across the ocean to Washington in this year of 1790 was the

Key of the Paris Bastille sent by Lafayette to Washington.

great key of the Bastille, presented to him by his old friend, Lafayette.[1] The brave Marquis had fallen on troublous times. The Revolution in France had cost him—like all of the *noblesse*—his fortune, his home and his happiness. His sovereign and friend, Louis XVI, had lost his throne and was now in prison, already destined for the unappeasable guillotine. Lafayette himself was imprisoned later, at Olmutz, in Austria—a misfortune of war which grieved Washington deeply.[2]

[1] The key of the Bastille is now at Mount Vernon. When in the presidential mansion in Philadelphia Washington hung it in the same room with the portrait of Louis XVI.

[2] In 1793 Washington wrote to the Marquise de Lafayette with reference to the captivity of her husband, and informed her that he had deposited two hundred guineas to her order with Nicholas von Stophorst, of Amsterdam. In the

1. Philadelphia's proposed Presidential Mansion.
2. Washington's mansion in Philadelphia, and Robert Morris's mansion, corner of Sixth and High (today Market) Streets.

Upon the selection of Philadelphia for the seat of government, the problem of a suitable residence for the President and his family again presented itself for solution. It was decided that a house should be built; but the mansion erected was so large that Washington refused to occupy it.[1]

1. New York's Presidential Mansion, but never so used.

J. Pierpont Morgan Library, in New York, is a letter written by Washington on the fifteenth of May, 1796, to the Austrian Emperor, urging Lafayette's release; not, however, seeking to use his influence as President of the United States, but writing as a private citizen, in a dignified and convincing manner. Many months later, Lafayette was released; but although Washington intensely desired to see his old friend, he advised him not to come to America at that time, because of possible international complications.

[1] This Presidential mansion, which was never occupied as such, afterwards became the early home of the University of Pennsylvania; the Philadelphia Post Office now stands on its site. The University today boasts one hundred and forty buildings.

When the President moved to Philadelphia, a permanent Presidential residence was in course of building in New York. (See illustration herewith.) This was located at the Battery, fronting New York Bay. Begun in 1790, it was unfinished when the President left New York; when completed, it was successively occupied by Governors Clinton and Jay. From 1799 to 1815 it was the Custom House; but was eventually demolished.

Eventually he selected one of the two Morris houses — that at 190 Market Street,[1] the garden of which adjoined the Robert Morris residence at Sixth and Market Streets.[2]

1. Waterfront location of Presidential mansion.
2. Bowling Green, as seen by our First President.

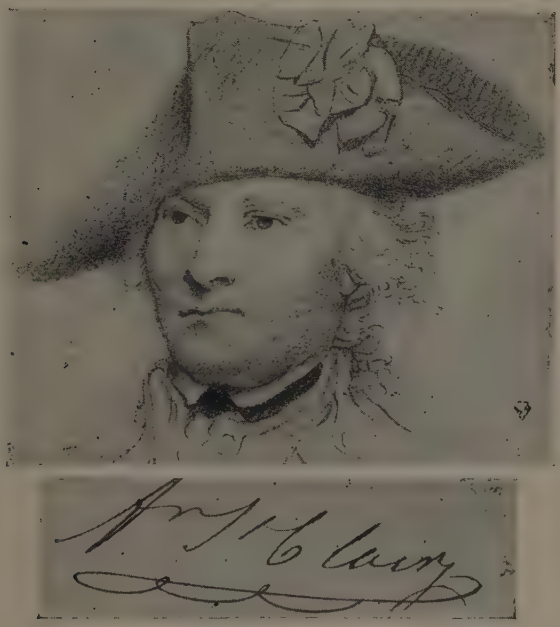
[1] See illustration on page 233. The site of this house is now covered by a mercantile establishment.

[2] Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution, became bankrupt in his old age, and was sent to a debtor's prison—a pitiful commentary on the ingratitude of nations. When Washington saw his old friend in prison, tears filled his eyes.

Robert Morris, prior to his imprisonment for debt. *Chappel.*

Millard Fillmore, father of laws against imprisonment for debt. *Chappel.*

Washington's long-planned journey through the South was made in the Spring of 1791, the President leaving Mount Vernon on the seventh of April and taking the route through Fredericksburg,[1] Richmond and Petersburg. In North Carolina, he visited Greenville, Trenton and Wilmington; in South Carolina, Charleston. Savannah and Augusta were



General Arthur St. Clair. *After John Trumbull.*

among the towns visited in Georgia. The journey, covering approximately two thousand miles, was made in about three months, the same horses being used throughout. This trip, like the Northern one in 1789, was an ovation from beginning to end, Southern hospitality deluging the President

[1] Washington seized this opportunity to visit his sister Betty. There is in his diary an entry dated April 8, 1791, which reads:

"Dined and lodged with my sister Lewis at Fredericksburg."

St. Clair surrounded by ambushed Indians near Miami village in 1791, and his command cut to pieces.

and his official staff with invitations for teas, banquets and house visits.

The year 1791 was drawing to its close when President Washington, seated at dinner in the Presidential Mansion, Philadelphia, with the usual complement of guests gathered about the table, received a despatch from General St. Clair

Washington's arraignment of St. Clair, in the presence of his secretary, Lear.
© *Harper Bros.*

containing tidings of the shocking disaster which had overwhelmed his command. Suddenly and without warning, Indians on the warpath had surrounded his detachment near the Miami River on the fourth of November, 1791, massacring and scalping officers and men without mercy. The tragedy was, indeed, a close parallel to the Monongahela Massacre of 1755;[1] the result, largely, of heedlessness and a mistaken sense of security. The blow fell on Washington

[1] Refer to page Vol. I, 172 *et seq.*

THE
COLUMBIAN TRAGEDY:
CONTAINING A PARTICULAR AND OFFICIAL
ACCOUNT
Of the Brave and Unfortunate OFFICERS and SOLDIERS who were
BLOODY INDIAN BATTLE.

Broadside carrying an official account of slaying and wounding by Indians, November 4, 1791. *Courtesy of N. Y. Public Library, Emmet Collection.*

with terrific force; for, mindful of his own experience and the lessons it had taught him, he had carefully warned his officers—and St. Clair specifically—against danger from ambushed Indians.[1]

Placing the despatch in his pocket, Washington controlled his emotion by a supreme effort until the conclusion of the meal, maintaining his usual calm demeanor until the last guest had departed. Then, left alone with Colonel Lear, the President's anger broke leash with the suddenness and violence of a tropical tempest. For a few minutes the air was sulphurous with imprecations, while Lear stood by in silence. The storm finally spent itself; and Washington, turning to his secretary and friend, said, brokenly:

"Lear, never allow these anathemas against my old friend St. Clair to get beyond these walls. . . . He shall have justice."

In 1792 pressure was brought to bear on Washington with a view to a second term in the Presidential chair.[2] It was the general consensus of opinion that no better man could be found for the office. Washington's own opinion in the matter is frankly expressed in a letter to Henry Lee, referring to the unanimous vote of the Electoral College for his re-election:

> "A mind must be insensible indeed not to be gratefully impressed by so distinguished and honorable a testimony of public approbation and confidence; and as I suffered my name to be contemplated on this occasion, it is more than probable that I should, for a moment, have experienced chagrin, if my re-election had not been by a pretty respectable vote."

[1] Although St. Clair did not lose his life in this disaster, he had eight bullet holes in his clothing; and it cost him his high standing in the army, despite his long, unblemished record for courage and loyalty. The great loss in killed and wounded aroused the sorrow and indignation of the entire country.

[2] While Congress, as a body, admired and respected Washington, there were individuals who bitterly opposed a motion to adjourn for half an hour on the

The second Inauguration took place on the fourth of March, 1793, in Philadelphia. President Washington rode in his state coach, drawn by six horses, to the Hall of Congress, where he again took the oath of office, this time administered by Judge William Cushing.[1]

Washington had a difficult and strenuous year ahead. The Neutrality Act with England, which had the effect of antagonizing France, was a political step of mighty import and far-reaching consequences.[2] But at that time all Europe was threatened with war, and Washington's most earnest desire was that the American nation, so recently brought into a state of cohesiveness, should not be embroiled in the quarrels of other nations. The Proclamation of Neutrality was issued a month after Inauguration Day. About this time Washington wrote:

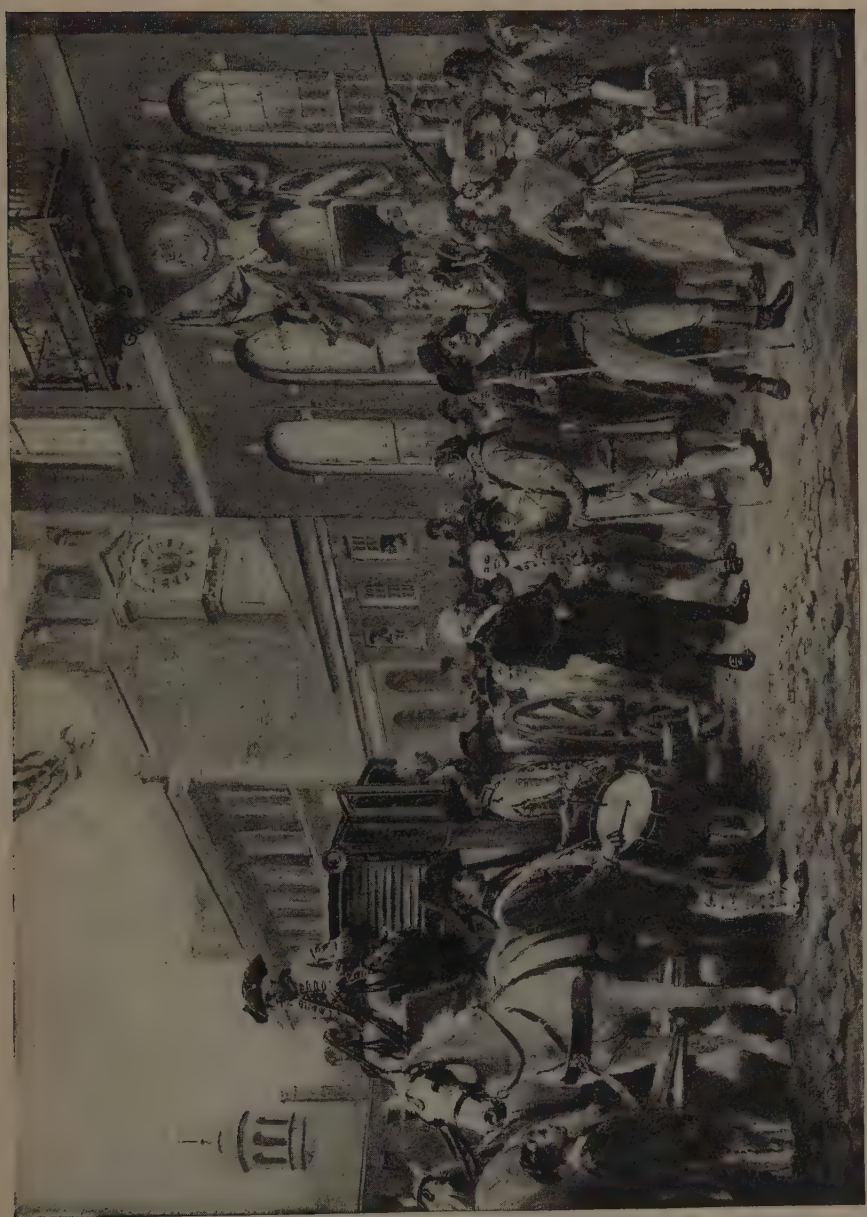
> "All our late accounts from Europe hold up the expectation of a general war. I ardently wish we may not be forced into it by the conduct of other nations. If we are permitted to improve, without interruption, the great advantages which nature and circumstances have placed within our reach, many years will not revolve before we may be ranked among the most responsible and happiest people on this globe."

twenty-second of February, 1792, for the purpose of congratulating the President on his sixty-first birthday. The objection offered was that it smacked of monarchy; it was overruled, however, and congratulations were offered, as usual.

[1] On the eighteenth of November, 1793,—the year of his second Inauguration,—Washington laid the foundation of the Capitol at Washington, D. C.—then Federal City. (Refer to page 400.)

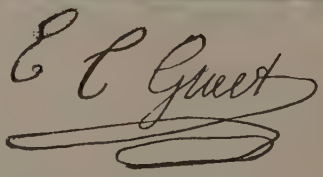
While domiciled in Philadelphia, Washington rode out to Valley Forge to survey once more the familar scenes of his occupation of 1778 and renew his acquaintance with old farmer friends in the vicinity. Local legends still tell of Washington's concern for the horses, as well as the men, of his army, and his regret that so many faithful animals died from starvation and exposure during that terrific winter.

[2] Undoubtedly the stand taken by the United States at this time sowed the seeds for the difficulty with France in 1798, when the country that, under a different régime, had been America's staunchest friend, became her bitter enemy.



Washington's Inauguration at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. © *J. L. G. Ferris.*

Washington had demurred at receiving an ambassador from the French Republic,[1] but the arguments presented finally induced him to yield. As usual, his own judgment was right. Citizen Genet came over to represent the French Republic in America, and at once proceeded to make use of his official power to enlist the sympathies of the people in behalf of the Revolution in France, supplementing this with an attempt to obtain American volunteers to aid the cause. "The volcano under the city," which seems, in all ages, ready to burst into violent eruption at a given signal, quickly went into action. In every city that the fire-eating French Minister entered, he succeeded in arousing the populace to an intense pitch of excitement — and nowhere more signally than in the dignified and conservative "Quaker City," where a mob of ten thousand people threatened for days to drag President Washington from the Executive Mansion and overturn the Government, but yellow fever broke out in the city, causing the deaths of two of the most virulent agitators, Jonathan Sergeant and Dr. Hutchinson, and terrorizing the people to such a degree that the mobs dispersed out of sheer fright.[2]



[1] The Ambassador from the monarchical government had been recalled at the outbreak of the French Revolution.

[2] In a letter written to Tobias Lear during the scourge, when five thousand people died and thousands more fled the city, Washington spoke of hiring the Col. Isaac Franks house at Germantown, but refrained from mentioning the yellow fever—probably not wishing to alarm his friends.

"My public avocation," he wrote, "will not admit of more than a flying trip to Mount Vernon for a few days this summer. This not suiting Mrs.

Washington, who had maintained his composure throughout the turmoil, now demanded the recall of Genet to France.[1]

It had required wisdom and a stern front, as well as firm conviction, to deny the expressed desire of the people—stirred into martial mood by the inflammatory Genet and other agitators—for another war with England. It was argued that the French were doing, in their way, only what had been done by America—releasing forces against despotism. Washington, however, stedfastly declined to permit America to be drawn into new complications with the Mother-Country. Controlling Congress by his firmness, his unemotional attitude toward opposing factions, and, above all, by his manifest ability to restore the country's finances to a sound basis, Washington proved himself to be "first in peace" as truly as he had been "first in war."[2] Yet, during those grilling times, Washington's health was perilously near to complete breakdown. His sight had been failing for ten years or more, his deafness was steadily increasing, and he suffered so severely from rheumatism that he was sometimes obliged to carry the afflicted arm in a sling.

Washington, I have taken a house in Germantown to avoid the heat of the city in the months of July and August. She, Nelly, and the rest of the family unite with me in good wishes for your health, prosperity and safe return; than whom none, you may be assured, offer them with more sincerity.

"With affection and regard, I am

"Always yours,

"G. Washington."

When the pestilence was at its height, Washington sent money to Bishop White, requesting its distribution "without ostentation or mention of my name."

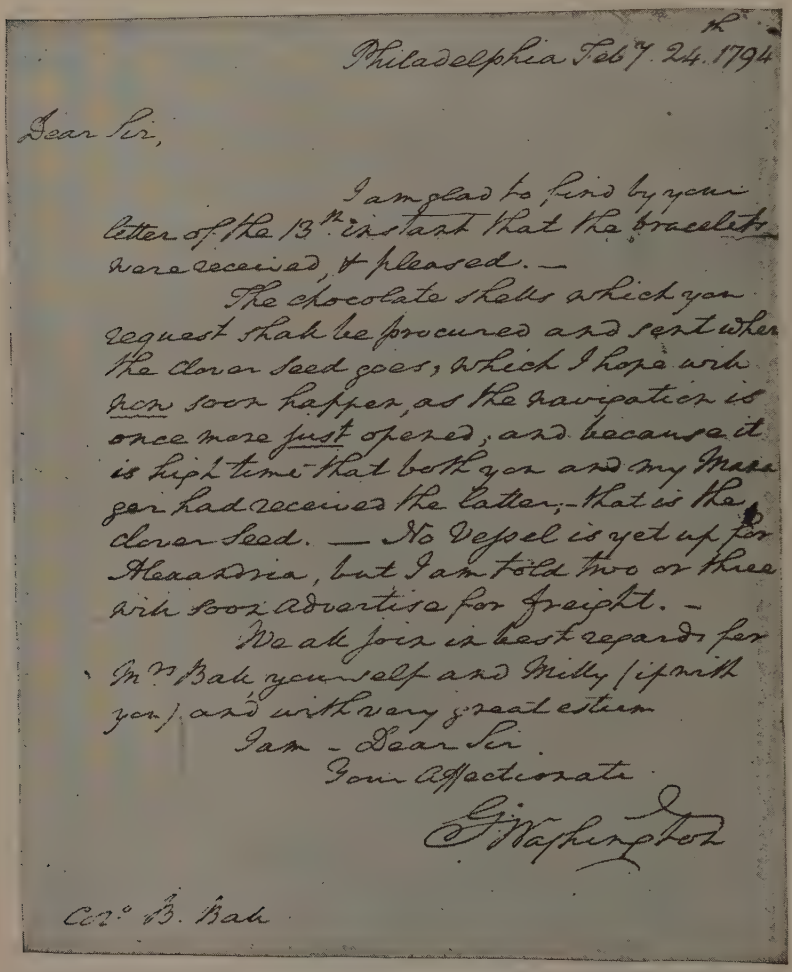
[1] The two succeeding Ministers, Fauchet and Adet, were inoculated with the same virus that had made Genet a menace to peace. Pierre Auguste Adet, who followed Fauchet, broke off diplomatic relations, and issued an address to the American people, denouncing the American form of government. Washington thus briefly castigated Genet before Congress:

"The proceedings of the person they have unfortunately appointed their Minister Plenipotentiary here have breathed nothing of the friendly spirit of the nation which sent him; their tendency, on the contrary, has been to involve us in war abroad and discord and anarchy at home."

[2] He had prophetically said, referring to the Ship of State:

"If the vessel survives the waves for twenty years, nothing can wreck it or check a marvellous progress."

President Washington was greatly disturbed by the outbreak of the Whiskey Rebellion in Western Pennsylvania,



Philadelphia Feb.y 24. 1794

Dear Sir,

I am glad to find by your letter of the 13th instant that the bracelets were received, & pleased. —

The chocolate shells which you request shall be procured and sent when the clover seed goes, which I hope will now soon happen, as the navigation is once more just opened; and because it is high time that both you and my Messenger had received the latter, — that is the clover seed. — No Vessel is yet up for Alexandria, but I am told two or three will soon advertise for freight. —

We all join in best regards for Mrs Bah yourself and Milly (if with you) and with very great esteem

I am — Dear Sir

Your Affectionate

G Washington

Colo B. Bah

Facsimile letter from Washington, welcoming the going-out of the ice.

threatening serious trouble, in 1794. The Excise Law, which had been passed by Congress on the third of March, 1791, and which had been received with ill grace in several sections,

Some First Ladies of the late eighteenth century.

1. Abigail Adams.
2. Mrs. Alexander Hamilton.
3. Dolly Madison.
4. Martha Washington.

was at the root of the uprising. Washington did not permit the rebellion to go far. He detailed "Light Horse Harry" Lee to the scene of the disturbance with an army of fifteen thousand militia—a manifestation of discipline which had the effect of restoring peace.[1] Washington, however, uncertain as to the outcome, wrote thus to Tobias Lear:

> "I have in contemplation to visit that place (Mount Vernon) about the last of September; but the rebellious conduct of people in western counties of the State renders the journey uncertain, and may defeat it altogether."

In the early autumn of 1794 the long-contemplated Western trip became an accomplished fact.[2] It was really precipitated by the Whiskey Rebellion, Washington being anxious to reach the disaffected sections and establish direct contact with the people. He left Philadelphia on the thirtieth of September, and devoted the whole of the month of October to the trip; visiting Reading, Harrisburg, Carlisle, Chambersburg and Williamsport in Pennsylvania; then passing on to Maryland, and—*via* the Potomac—to Bath, Virginia; thence back into Maryland at Cumberland, and then into Pennsylvania again, arriving at Bedford on the nineteenth of October. Here he conferred with General Henry Lee and other officers, and reached Philadelphia on the twenty-ninth of October. Throughout this pilgrimage President

[1] Washington thus pillories many public men. It is little wonder that some of them fought back at the famous general, stooping to scurrilous untruths:

> "If I was to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen and heard, and in part known, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seems to have laid hold of most of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the better of every other consideration and almost every order of men. I need not repeat to you that I am alarmed, and wish to see my countrymen roused."

[2] The territory traversed by Washington in the course of that trip could hardly be called "Western" in these days of coast-to-coast travel; but in 1794 the country near the Alleghenies was largely unexplored, though Washington had been over much of it before, in his earlier frontier adventures. In this journey he did not cross the Alleghenies.

Washington was warmly received by rich and poor alike. No hostility was in evidence; and Washington returned home well satisfied that General Lee had efficiently handled a difficult situation.

Public animosity was again aroused, a little later, by the Jay treaty with England. Jay signed the treaty November 19, 1794, but its ratification was not signed by the President

Hanging of Jay and others in effigy by Bostonians.

until August 12, 1795. The Selectmen of Boston sent the President a message of protest against the ratification, which he received with his customary dignified courtesy, but held his ground, saying:

"The Constitution is a guide which I can never abandon."

Congress threatened the President with impeachment when, standing on his constitutional rights, he refused to lay before the House the correspondence relating to his ratification of the treaty, which needed only the assent of the Senate. A copy of the document was burned in front

of the British Minister's residence, the populace further manifesting its resentment by hanging Jay in effigy. In Boston the Liberty Tree was the scaffold.

A break in Washington's Cabinet occurred in January, 1795, when Alexander Hamilton resigned the Secretaryship of the Treasury. He had long urged upon his Chief the necessity for this step; and when at length Washington was induced, though reluctantly, to accept his resignation, he felicitated himself upon attaining his freedom, and buoyantly started out to build a future for himself and his family, remarking:

"I am not worth exceeding five hundred dollars in the world. My slender fortune and the best years of my life have been devoted to the service of my adopted country. A rising family hath its claims."

He had served his country — and his Chief — right valiantly, in one capacity or another, for eighteen years. An excellent general, a great statesman and a remarkable financier, Alexander Hamilton left an indelible record of achievement on the annals of America.[1]

Later in the year, Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General, also resigned; but as a result of financial transactions with the French, carried on without Washington's knowledge. Papers from Fauchet, the French Minister, were taken by the British from a captured French corvette, and were sent to Washington by the English Minister, Mr. Hammond. Washington handed them to Randolph in a Cabinet meeting held August 19, 1795, and severely rebuked him; whereupon Randolph at once resigned.[2]

[1] The Honorable Albert Gallatin, political rival and critic of Hamilton, and treasurer of the United States from 1801 to 1813, declared that "all Secretaries of the Treasury since Hamilton enjoyed a sinecure, the genius and labors of Hamilton having created and arranged everything requisite and necessary for the successful operation of the department."

[2] Jefferson recorded that Randolph was a first-class chameleon; but some historians assert—perhaps in an effort to save an honored name—that the captured letters were forgeries, and that Washington was led into error.

In September, 1796, when a third term for President Washington began to be spoken of, he firmly declined to consider it—setting a wise and safe precedent which his successors in office have consistently followed. His heart-stirring "Farewell to the Nation," a momentous document, fully equalled in importance the historic occasion it signalized. In preparing this address, Washington requested

Washington giving his last dinner as President to John Adams and others.
© *Harper Brothers.*

James Madison to outline a draft, after which he personally prepared a second draft. This he submitted, for criticism, both to Hamilton and Jay, with a notation attached:

> "Even if you should think it best to throw the whole into different form, let me request, notwithstanding, that my draft may be returned to me along with yours, with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation permits; curtailed if too verbose."

When these instructions had been followed, Washington again revised the address; and in that final form it was given to the public, one of the most remarkable documents in existence.[1] The opening and closing paragraphs are here transcribed:

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:

"The period for the new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

. . . . . .

"Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

"Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I

[1] Translated into several languages, this address has often been quoted as a brilliant example of what such an address should be. In New York and Pennsylvania it was speedily translated into Dutch and German.

anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free Government — the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

"G. Washington.

"United States, 17th September, 1796."

At the last official dinner given by President Washington, he rose, lifted his glass, and said:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: This is the last time I shall drink to your health as a public man. I do it with sincerity, and wishing you all possible happiness."[1]

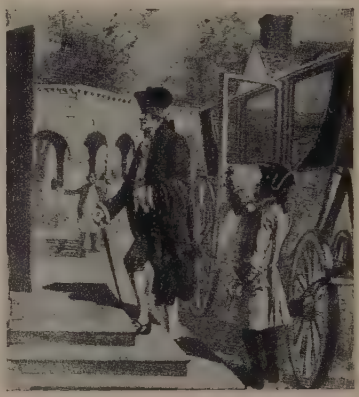
It is said that his guests could with difficulty restrain their emotion. Their beloved leader, broken in health and worn with the cares and responsibilities of many years of high office, was bidding them a final farewell. The infant nation of which he had assumed the guidance and guardianship eight years before was now grown to "years

[1] In those days, guests at official banquets often remained at the table for hours, a succession of toasts being proposed. Some of the most popular were:

"The People of the United States of America."
"The Congress."
"The dearest friend of his Country."
"The State of Maryland"—or Virginia, etc.
"The King of the French"; and, later,
"The National Assembly of France."
"The Sieur la Fayette; and Generous Friends to America in her Day of Distress."
"The Memory of all those who have fallen in the Cause of America."
"The Patriots of All Nations and Ages."
"The Powers of Europe friendly to America."
"The Virtuous Daughters of America."
"The Perpetual Union of Distinct Sovereign States under an Efficient Federal Head."
"Wisdom, Justice, Harmony, in all our Public Councils."
"Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, and Learning; may they all flourish with Virtue and True Religion."
"May all Inhabitants of the Earth be taught to consider each other as Fellow-Citizens."

of discretion." Washington, as President, had established a standard of good government for all time.

In the meantime, John Adams had been elected President to succeed Washington. Again the retiring Chief established a precedent—an excellent one, which has been generally followed—when he accompanied the new President-elect to the Senate Chamber, and witnessed his inauguration.



Home at last. End of presidential career. © *Century Co.*

On the twelfth of March, 1797, the doors of the Executive Mansion in Philadelphia closed upon Washington's official career, and the family started southward for Mount Vernon. Joy must have filled George Washington's heart, though his body was worn, weary and pain-ridden. At last he was freed from the shackles of public life. For him, during the time left—it was destined to be very short—there would now be the green solitudes of Virginia, the verdure-fringed Potomac, the peace and quietude of Mount Vernon. It did not seem possible then that further demands could ever be made upon him. He was going home at last.

CHAPTER XXXVII

ALEXANDRIA'S INTIMATE ASSOCIATION WITH THE ILLUSTRIOUS VIRGINIAN. GADSBY'S TAVERN. CHRIST CHURCH. PERSONAL MEMORIALS OF WASHINGTON, INCLUDING PORTRAIT. LAYING CORNER-STONE OF THE CAPITOL. THE GEORGE WASHINGTON NATIONAL MASONIC MEMORIAL

SOUTH OF the city of Washington, District of Columbia, at the northern gateway of what has been spoken of, elsewhere in this work, as "Washington Land," lies the beautiful and interesting city of Alexandria—quite as closely associated with the memory of our First President as Fredericksburg, his boyhood home on the Rappahannock. Here the General's face was a familiar sight on the streets, as well as in the many homes that he frequented, for Washington was very popular in Alexandria, even in his younger manhood. He had a surveying office in the city at one time; went there often to the races or to dine; and recorded in his diary an account of a ball he attended there in February, 1760—a ball which has become historic because of Washington's humorous comment. With the spelling corrected in conformity with modern ideas, the entry in his diary reads thus:

> "Went to a ball at Alexandria, where music and dancing was the chief entertainment. However, in a convenient room detached for the purpose abounded great plenty of bread and butter, some biscuits with tea, and coffee which the drinkers of could not distinguish from hot water sweetened. Be it remembered that pockethandkerchiefs served the purpose of table cloths

and napkins, and that no apologies were made for either.

. . . . . .

"I shall therefore distinguish this ball by the style and title of the Bread and Butter Ball."

It was in Alexandria, in his early manhood, that George Washington put his ban on duelling, then the custom of polite society in America as in Europe. In the heat of a political discussion with Captain Payne over the election of George William Fairfax, his friend, to the Virginia Assembly, Washington gave the lie and received a blow. In accordance with the prevailing code of honor, Washington sent for his opponent; but, when he arrived, met him with an apology and an outstretched hand.[1] Since it was well known that Washington was not lacking in courage, this frank and manly action set a new example—and probably was the means of saving many lives that would otherwise have been recklessly sacrificed.

Gadsby's Tavern, to-day called the City Hotel, was—in the eighteenth century—the scene of most of Alexandria's important social gatherings; and here was the famous ball room, in which the aristocracy of the Virginia countryside frequently danced until the small hours; with Washington one of the most graceful dancers on the floor. Gadsby's Tavern was a rare old Virginia hostelry, which—with its central location and its proverbial good cheer—contributed no small part in the interchange of social courtesies.

It is now shorn of its past glory; a part being used as a second-hand furniture store, while the ball room—in which the great Washington frequently held brilliant receptions[2]—has been divided by a thrifty landlord into small furnished

[1] According to the custom of the period, Washington owned a pair of duelling pistols, which he eventually presented to Lafayette.

[2] The ball room draperies and decorations, from Gadsby's Tavern as Washington knew it, were purchased by Mr. Thomas Fortune Ryan for his collection in New York.

rooms for workingmen; in one of which the splendid old fireplace—silent witness of many a stately minuet—serves to-day the menial purpose of a side wall in a stuffy hall room. The graceful Colonial stairway in the centre of the building still retains vestiges of former beauty, though sadly ravaged by years of misuse. Like the fireplace, it is reminiscent of

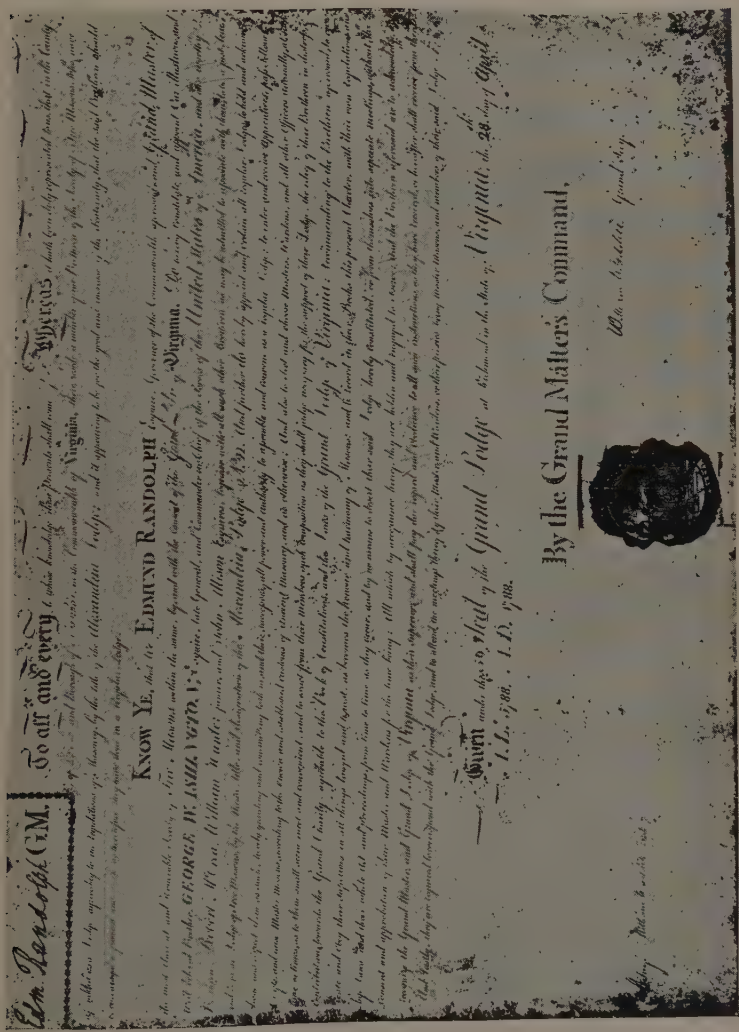
Gadsby's Tavern (called The City Hotel).
© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

past grandeur; of days when high-born maidens, very lovely in their silken gowns, their hoops and patches and lofty coiffures, lingered to listen to tender phrases whispered by gallant cavaliers, joyously attired in gay satins and velvets, and ruffles of cambric and lace.[1] Alas, both have

[1] Restoration of this ancient building to its original Colonial form has been considered, and ought certainly to be effected. Relic of a glorious past, Gadsby's Tavern should be, for present-day youth and for generations yet to come, an object lesson in patriotism and hero worship, as it is substantially built of brick and thoroughly timbered.

Side entrance of Gadsby's Tavern in olden days.

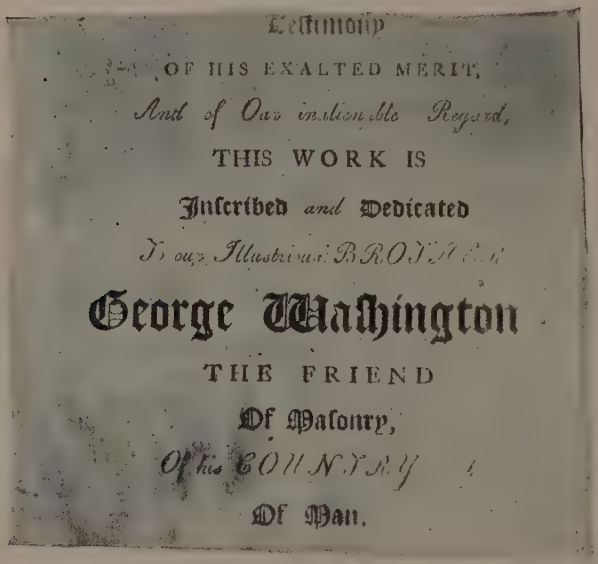
fallen on desolate times. Few visitors to Alexandria ever cross the threshold which so often resounded to Washington's



Facsimile of charter of Alexandria-Washington Lodge that Washington joined in 1787.
© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

footfall, for, should the proprietor be absent, only the most persistent effort may gain entrance.

In the smaller building adjoining the Tavern[1] used by Washington as headquarters, he recruited his first command in 1754, (the front room is much as he knew it, with the same mantle, window and doorway) often selecting by name the stalwart, wiry Virginia riflemen whom he could trust to follow whither he led;[2] and from its well-worn doorstep he


Testimony
OF HIS EXALTED MERIT,
And of Our inviolable Regard,
THIS WORK IS
Inscribed and Dedicated
To our Illustrious BROTHER
George Washington
THE FRIEND
Of Masonry,
Of his COUNTRY
Of Man.

Dedication page from the History of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, written in 1792 and dedicated to George Washington.

strode forth to his first and only capitulation at Great Meadows.[3] A year later, the young soldier crossed and recrossed that threshold many times as a Colonial major; and

[1] See illustration on page 257.

[2] Virginia riflemen, almost to a man, were Pennsylvania Germans or their descendants, who came down into the Shenandoah Valley as early as 1710. Their ancestors had handled the rifle when it was as yet unknown elsewhere, the very word being derived from the German.

[3] Refer to Vol. I, page 155.

1–2. Front and rear views of the Alexandria Academy.
3. Washington's surveying office, Alexandria.

again, as aide to General Braddock, before that ill-fated expedition to the frontier which terminated in the Monongahela Massacre in 1755.[1]

From the steps of Gadsby's Tavern Washington announced to the assembled Alexandrians the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the Richmond Convention, in 1787; and it is probable that he also read there that historic Virginia document deeding the great Northwest to the State Federation on condition that no slaves should be held in that territory—a fact to the credit of the Old Dominion State which rabid Abolitionists generally overlooked.[2] Again, in 1789, from those same steps Washington bade farewell to his Virginia friends before leaving his native State for his Inauguration as First President; and ten years later, in November, 1799,—one month before he answered Death's roll call,—he attended, at Gadsby's Tavern, his last public dinner, reviewed the Independent Blues (the local troops, many of them comrades who had bivouacked with him in camp and fought beside him in battle) and gave his last military order.

Yes, Gadsby's Tavern is rich in memories, and, echoing down the years, the true patriot may still catch the muted tones of the great Washington's voice—the voice that rang clarion-clear until it was stilled forever a hundred and twenty-eight years ago.

But Alexandria has other links with that past in which the unconquerable Washington was so great and vital a figure. Here is the Alexandria Academy, which he endowed in his will; and Christ Church, the Episcopal sanctuary in which he worshipped[3]—paying his pew rent, like others of

[1] Refer to Vol. I, page 173.

[2] As early as 1782, Major John Minor, of Fredericksburg, presented to the House of Burgesses a bill for the liberation of slaves. A courageous man, the Major!

[3] Illustrated on page 263. All of the pre-Revolutionary churches in which Washington worshipped—particularly Christ Church, Alexandria; Bruton Church,

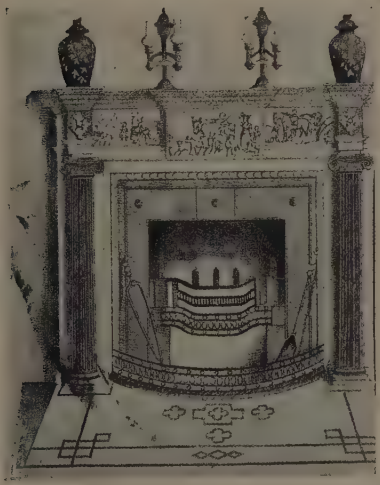
1. Pohick Church.
2. Christ Church, Alexandria.
3. Pohick Church, interior.
4. Pohick Church, exterior.

1. The Ramsay house, oldest house in Alexandria, Va.

2. Statue erected in Alexandria to the memory of Confederate soldiers.

3. Enlarged figure of Confederate soldier.

the congregation, in tobacco, the common currency of that time in the South for local obligations.[1] The Ramsay house—the oldest house in Alexandria[2]—was often visited by



Mantel and fireplace presented to Washington by Samuel Vaughan, owner of the famous Vaughan portrait. It is said that the donor sent also a liberal consignment of coal for use in the fireplace. This carved mantel can still be seen at Mount Vernon.

Washington, William Ramsay—the owner—being a friend and distant relative of the General's. A letter written by

Williamsburg; St. George's, Fredericksburg; St. John's, Richmond; Christ Church, Boston; St. Paul's, New York; and Christ Church, and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, breathe the deeply religious spirit of our forefathers.

The grace in architecture and thoroughness in construction of these churches, and of others of Colonial times, put to shame the tawdry and generally inartistic attempts at "something different" that too often blot the landscape.

[1] At the time that Washington purchased his pew in Christ Church, in 1773, beaver was common currency in the Middle Colonies; and beaver, corn and wampum in the Eastern and occasionally other Colonies.

[2] Illustrated on page 264. The house looks to-day much as it probably looked in Washington's time.

Washington to William Ramsay reveals a strain of generosity which should effectually silence those who say that he was penurious.

> "Having been informed of the studious habits of your son William, I will allow him twenty-five pounds annually to assist him in his education at Princeton College. No other return is expected or wished for this offer than that you will accept it with the same freedom and good will with which it is made, and that you may not even consider it in the light of an obligation, or mention it as such; for be assured that from me it will never be known."

Here, too, in Alexandria is the Masonic Lodge of which Washington became a member on the twenty-fourth of June, 1784 (thirty-two years after his initiation in Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4);[1] of which the record runs thus:

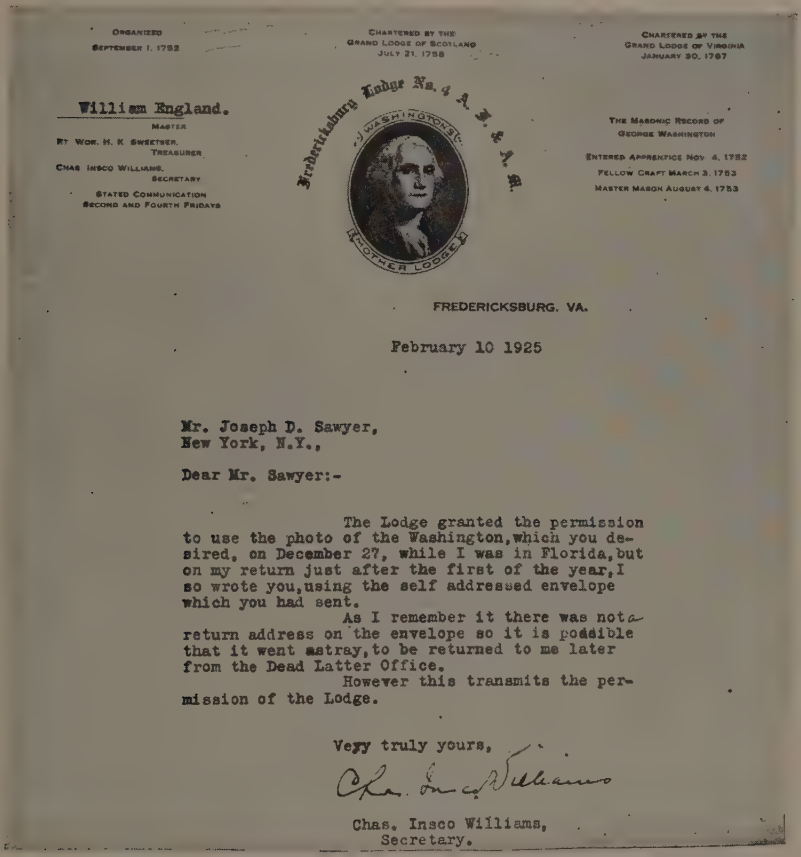
> "The Worshipful Master, with unanimous consent of the brethren, was pleased to admit His Excellency, General Washington, as an honorary member of the Lodge No. 39."

It is not difficult to believe that statement!

When, in the full promise of his splendid youth,—being not yet twenty-one,—George Washington entered the little Lodge Room in Fredericksburg for initiation into the Masonic Order, he followed a light which has guided mankind for uncounted centuries; for the esoteric beginning of the Order is so ancient that its true origin is hidden in the mists of antiquity. The beautiful symbolism of the Order must have appealed to Washington's youthful imagination as fervently as the ritual appealed to the devotional side of his nature. It is at least certain that, with the earnestness and thoroughness that distinguished his actions in every

[1] Refer to Vol. I, page 131.

walk of life, Washington entered into the full spirit of the Order, carrying its mystical light with him into all of his enterprises. Any sincere and earnest Mason, closely scanning



ORGANIZED
SEPTEMBER 1, 1752

CHARTERED BY THE
GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND
JULY 21, 1758

CHARTERED BY THE
GRAND LODGE OF VIRGINIA
JANUARY 30, 1787

William England.
MASTER
RT WOR. H. K SWEETSER,
TREASURER
CHAS INSCO WILLIAMS,
SECRETARY
STATED COMMUNICATION
SECOND AND FOURTH FRIDAYS

Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4 A. F. & A. M.
WASHINGTON'S MOTHER LODGE

THE MASONIC RECORD OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON
ENTERED APPRENTICE NOV. 4, 1752
FELLOW CRAFT MARCH 3, 1753
MASTER MASON AUGUST 4, 1753

FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

February 10 1925

Mr. Joseph D. Sawyer,
New York, N.Y.,

Dear Mr. Sawyer:-

The Lodge granted the permission to use the photo of the Washington, which you desired, on December 27, while I was in Florida, but on my return just after the first of the year, I so wrote you, using the self addressed envelope which you had sent.

As I remember it there was not a return address on the envelope so it is possible that it went astray, to be returned to me later from the Dead Latter Office.

However this transmits the permission of the Lodge.

Very truly yours,

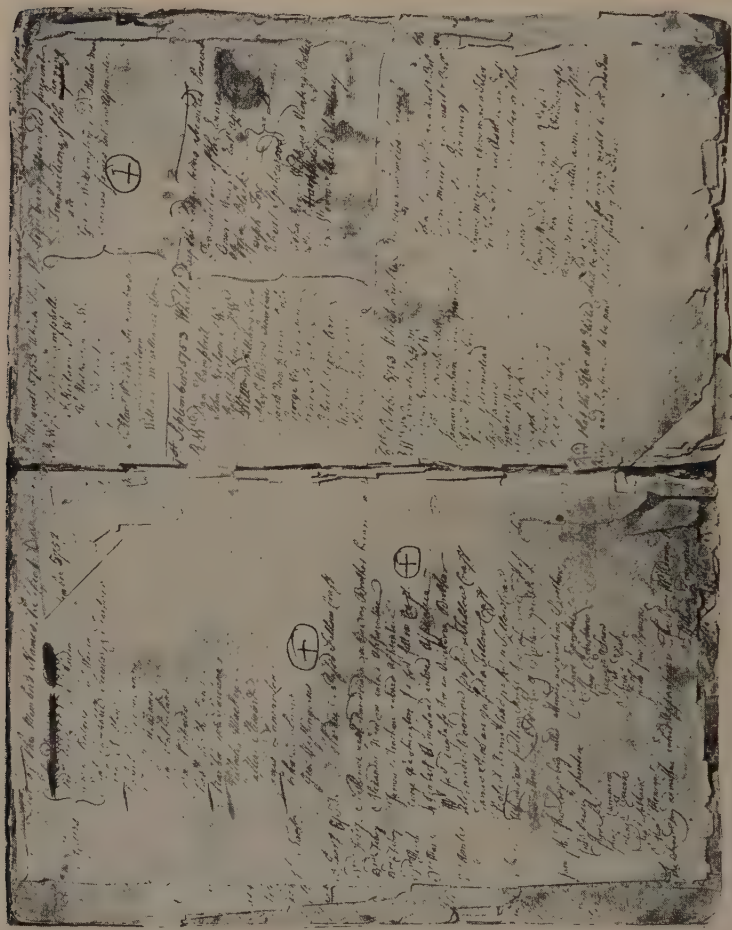
Chas. Insco Williams

Chas. Insco Williams,
Secretary.

Letter from the Fredericksburg Lodge, giving right to use the illustrations owned by the Lodge.

Washington's writings and public speeches, would immediately recognize the author of them as one of the brotherhood, for many of his expressions are rich in Masonic meaning. Washington was a Mason in every fibre of his

being; he thought Masonry, practised Masonry, lived Masonry, in every important act of his life. The lapse of nearly a hundred and fifty years has not devitalized the



Crosses in this record book show Washington's advancement in Masonry.
© *Fredericksburg Lodge.*

influence he exerted throughout his days in behalf of Masonic principles. Well did he fulfill the promise implied in this fragment of one of his letters:

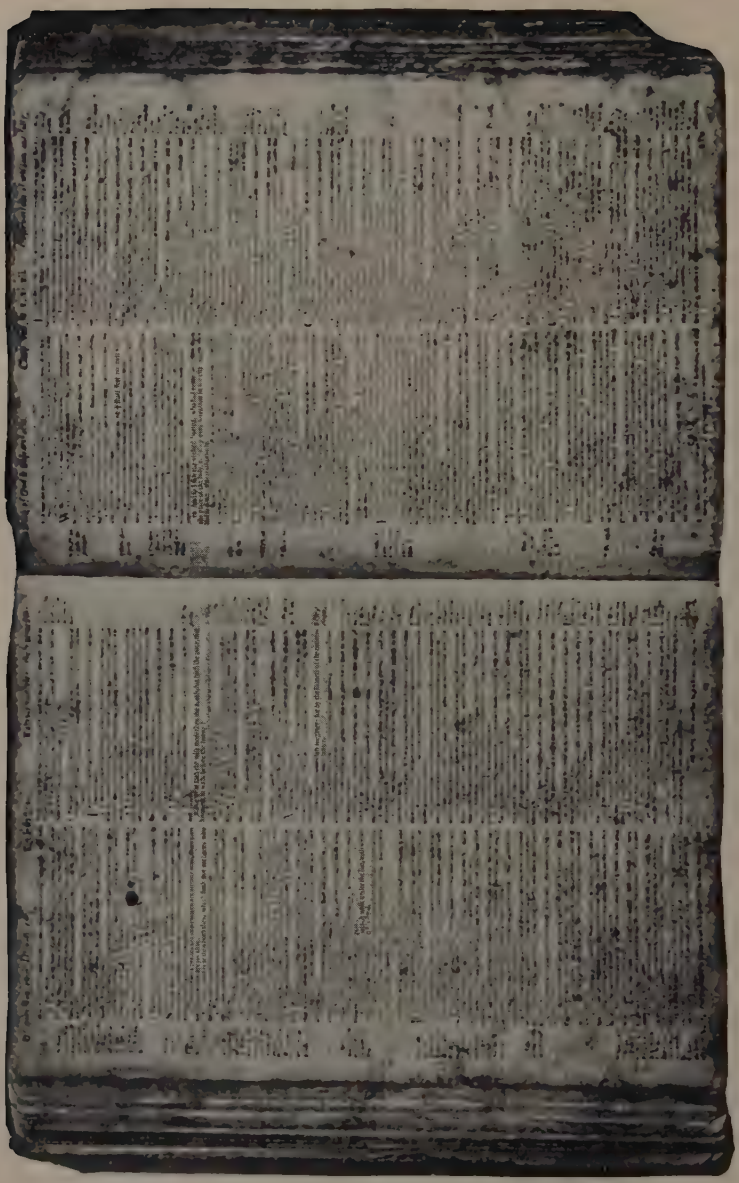
"Being persuaded that a just application of the principles on which the Masonic Fraternity is founded must be promotive of virtue and public prosperity, I shall always be happy to advance the interests of the society, and be considered by them a deserving brother."

By example as well as precept, Washington advocated Masonry so strongly that many prominent men of his time rallied with him to the Masonic standard. Masonry

City Hall at Alexandria, Va., containing the Alexandria Washington Lodge 22, A. F. & A. M. © *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

formed one of the strongest bulwarks of the new Government which primarily owed its existence to George Washington; and although it is not true that a majority of the important figures in the Revolution, including the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, were Masons, the fact remains that a significant number were members of the Masonic Order.

Of the fifty-six Signers of the Declaration of Independence, nine were Masons; these being: Benjamin Franklin,



Bible on which Washington was sworn into the Fredericksburg Lodge. *Courtesy of Fredericksburg Lodge, Va.*

John Hancock, Joseph Hughes, William Hooper, Francis Lewis, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Robert Treat Paine, Matthew Thornton and William Whipple.

Of the Signers of the Constitution, the Masons were: George Washington,[1] Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and David Brearley.

The "Boston Tea Party" was due in part to the activities of Boston Masons who left their Lodge Room for the Old

Seal of Fredericksburg Lodge, Va.
Courtesy of the Fredericksburg Lodge.

South Church, proceeding thence to the tea ships; from which, after throwing the tea overboard, they returned to the Lodge.

There were many loyal Masons in the Revolutionary Army. Diaries of some of the officers in the Sullivan expedition have told of Forest Lodges being held while in the heart of the Indian country.

In view of George Washington's loyalty to the Masonic Order we scan briefly the historic record of this ancient brotherhood and trace its progress in our own county.

[1] At least eleven of the thirty Presidents of the United States have been members of the Masonic fraternity, namely: Washington, Monroe, Polk, Jackson, Buchanan, Johnson, Garfield, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Harding.

Exterior and interior of the present Fredericksburg Lodge. In 1752 in the original building Washington became a Mason. The Bible used is shown. The Washington portrait is said to be by Stuart. © *The Fredericksburg Lodge.*

The generally accepted definition of Free Masonry, which Washington fully indorsed, describes it as:

> "The activity of closely united men who, employing symbolical forms, borrowed principally from the masons' trade and from architecture, work for the welfare of mankind, striving morally to ennoble themselves and others, and thereby bring about a universal league of mankind, which they aspire to exhibit even now on a small scale."

C PHILIP HEISHLEY
ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA

Aug. 21, 1924.

Mr. Joseph D. Sawyer,
#39 Courtlandt Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Sawyer:

I gladly grant you permission to reproduce in your work those drawings, photographs, etc. that are the property of

Alexandria-Washington Lodge #22, AF&AM - this, however, with the distinct understanding that Alexandria-Washington Lodge #22 AF&AM will be given due credit therefor, and that her copy-rights be safeguarded.

Wishing you every success in your undertaking, and thanking you to acknowledge receipt advising, I am

Yours very truly,

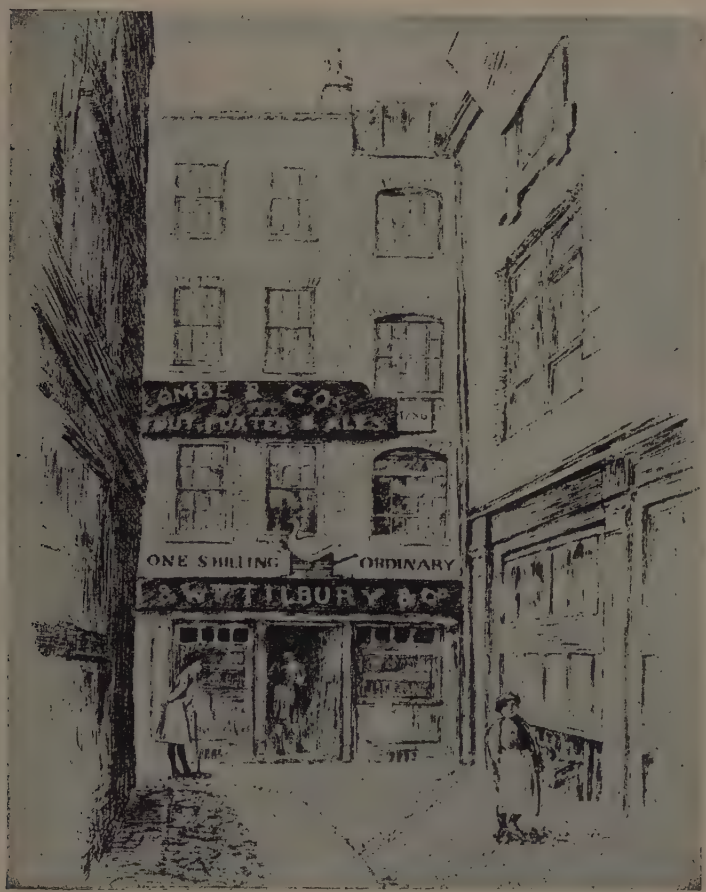
C. Philip Heishley.
Worshipful Master,
Alexandria-Washington Lodge #22, AF&AM.

While the present form of speculative Masonry had its inception in London, England, in 1717, in the old Goose and

George Washington (closing the Lodge). Washington in Masonic regalia.
The Masonic Bible on which Washington took oath as President of the United States.

A messenger was dispatched to Saint John's Masonic Lodge in Nassau Street, a few doors away, to borrow the Masonic Bible and bring it to Federal (Liberty) Hall, on Wall Street, New York City, where Washington was sworn into the Presidential office April 30, 1789. This Bible is still preserved by the Lodge On it President Harding took the oath of office March 4, 1921, it being carried to the city of Washington under careful guard for that purpose.

Gridiron Tavern, that was in no sense of the word the beginning of the Masonic Order. Operative Masonry is



Goose and Gridiron Tavern, London, where in 1717 was organized the premier Grand Lodge of the world. *Courtesy of the New York Masonic Outlook, through H. L. Haywood, editor.*

fully two centuries older; and the ancient symbols—many of which are still in use—reach back into the very morning of the world, when men first began to meet in secret council.

Symbolism always stirs the heart, though the interpretation of to-day may be the antithesis of that of yesteryear. There are beautiful and impressive traditions about that earlier Masonry; traditions which many have forgotten and many others have never known.

Detail drawing of Washington's Masonic apron.
© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

American Masonic traditions tell of a Masonic Lodge meeting in Rhode Island in 1656; and one John Moore, Collector of the Port in Philadelphia in 1715, chronicles a Masonic meeting in that city in 1703. Nevertheless, in a broad sense, Masonry and George Washington arrived in America at about the same time.

Among the early Masonic Lodges on these shores, St. John's Lodge, Philadelphia, is said to have claimed priority, having been established in 1730. But in 1723 the Grand Lodge of England—the Mother Lodge—ordered that no Lodges should exist save those officially sanctioned by the

Masonic charity to children.

Grand Lodge and whose charters were signed by the Grand Master. Under this rule, the First Lodge, organized in Boston in 1733, supersedes the Philadelphia Lodge of 1730.[1]

[1] Though the War of the States of 1861 disrupted homes and churches, the bonds of the Masonic fraternity remained unbroken. Under the square and compass, the blue and the gray met as brothers after that first day at Gettysburg —to face one another, on the day following, as enemies on the field of battle.

Washington remained a member of the Fredericksburg Lodge throughout his life. Entering as Apprentice on the

Mount Vernon 28th Dec.r 1783

Gentlemen

With a pleasing sensibility I received your favor of the 26th, and beg leave to offer you my sincere thanks for the favorable sentiments with which it abounds. —

I shall always feel pleasure when it may be in my power to render service to Lodge No. 39, and in every act of brotherly kindness to the Members of it; being with great truth

Your affect.e Brother
and Obed.t Servant
G. Washington

Rob.t Adam Esq.r Master,
& the Wardens & Mess.rs
of Lodge No. 39.

Facsimile letter from Washington to Lodge No. 39.

fourth of November, 1752, he passed as Fellow Craft on the third of March, 1753, and was elevated to Master Mason on the fourth of August in the same year. In 1777 the

This insignia of the Thirty-third Masonic degree, now in possession of the author, dates back one hundred or more years. It was issued to Captain Jeremiah Bliss of Newport, R. I.

Exterior of Christ Church, Philadelphia, where the Masonic fraternity occasionally worshipped.

office of Grand Master was tendered him, but he declined the honor, as being in the field.

In 1787 General Washington became a charter member of Alexandria Lodge, No. 22—now more generally known as Alexandria-Washington Lodge No. 22, A. F. & A. M.[1] When in the city, he was a faithful attendant at the meetings of

Interior of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

this Lodge; and in his later years the Alexandria Masonic Hall was always a centre of attraction to him, many of his closest friends being fellow-members. The present Lodge Rooms—a venerated shrine which is yearly visited by many thousands—are located in Alexandria's City Hall,[2] close by the former Gadsby's Tavern. On the walls of these rooms

[1] To this Lodge the author is indebted for permission to publish many of the illustrations in this work, to each of which an informative notation is attached. (See facsimile of letter from Worshipful Master C. Philip Heishley, page 273.)

[2] See illustrations, pages 269 and 273.

Letter to Grand Lodge of Massachusetts

To the Grand Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

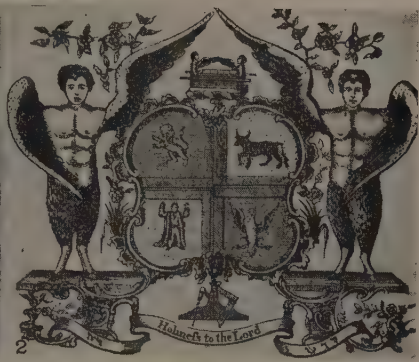
* * * *

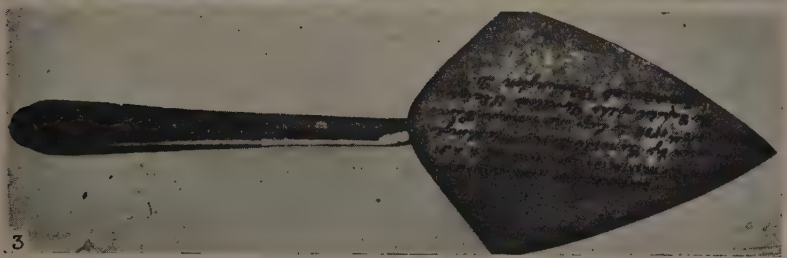
While I beg your acceptance of my thanks for the "Book of Constitutions" which you have sent me, & the honor you have done me in the dedication, permit me to assure you that I feel all those emotions of gratitude which your affectionate address & cordial wishes are calculated to inspire; and I sincerely pray that the Great Architect of the Universe may bless you here, and receive you hereafter into his immortal Temple.

G. Washington

1. Masonic Lodge in Philadelphia. Dedicated in 1755.
2. Letter from Washington to Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

hang many precious relics of our First President, while a number of his personal mementos are exhibited in glass cases. The famous Masonic Portrait,[1] portraying Washington in the insignia of the Order, is one of the most valued possessions in the Lodge's collection.



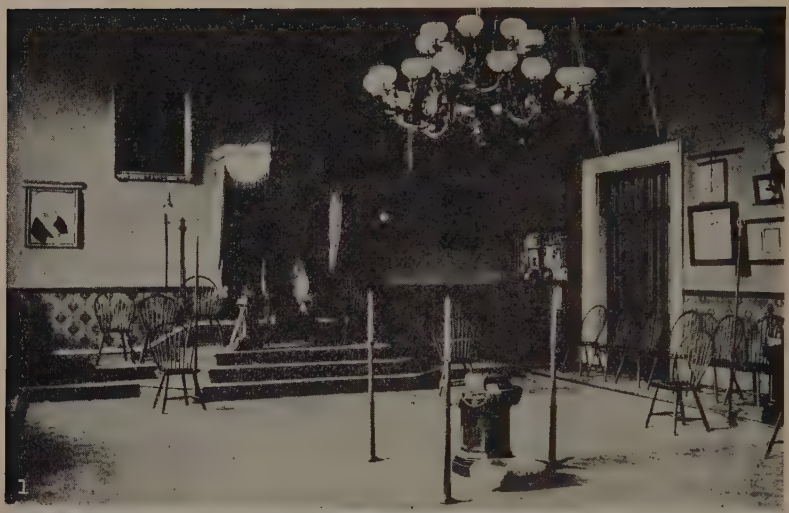


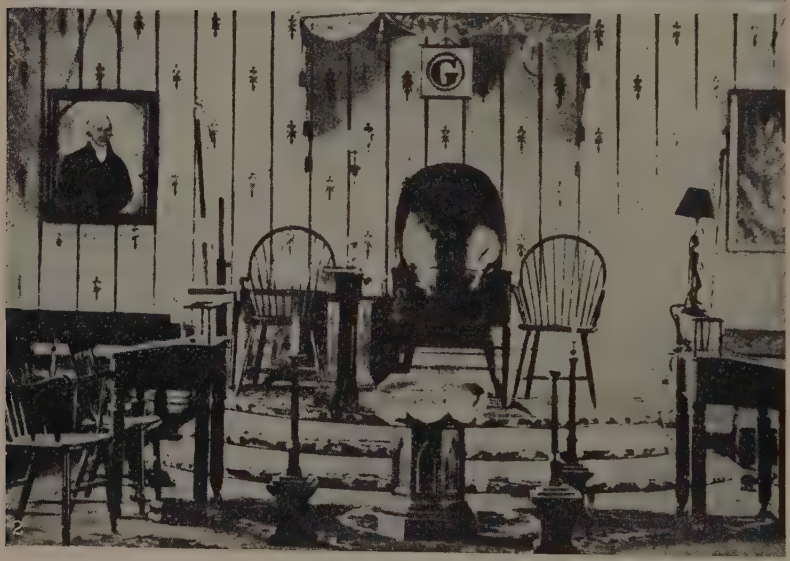
1. Washington laying corner-stone of the Capitol.
2. Arms of Free Masons.
3. Silver-bladed pearl-handled trowel used by Washington, September 21, 1793, to lay corner-stone of the Capitol.

© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22—A.F. & A.M.*

If the aura of a great soul still clings to material objects with which it has been associated, it is not surprising that one gazes with a sense of real affection upon Washington's wedding gloves, the single black glove which he wore as a badge of mourning for his mother, and his Masonic apron.

[1] This portrait, painted by William Williams in 1794, is shown on page 461 (Portrait section).





1. Present Lodge Room, built after the fire of 1879, in Alexandria's City Hall.
2. First Lodge Room, used from September 16, 1802, to May 19, 1871, when, with the City Hall, it was burned.

© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

Here, too, are his farm spurs, pruning knife, pocket compass, and bleeding and cupping instruments, with Dr. Dick's medicine scales. In the same case is the copper plate for Governor Hancock's reception cards—a gift to General Washington from the Governor of the Old Bay State.[1]

Another interesting memento owned by this Lodge is the silver-bladed, pearl-handled trowel used by General Washington in laying the corner-stone of the Capitol, September 18, 1793.[2] The inscription on the silver plate which Washington sealed within the corner-stone reads thus:

> "This south-east corner-stone of the Capitol of the United States of America was laid on the 18th day of September, 1793, in the thirteenth year of American Independence, in the first year of the second term of the Presidency of George Washington (whose virtues in the civil administration of his country have been as conspicuous and beneficial as his military valor and prudence have been useful in establishing her liberties) and in the year of Masonry 5793, by the President of the United States, in concert with the Grand Lodge of Maryland, several Lodges under its jurisdiction, and Lodge Number 22 of Alexandria, Virginia.
>
> "Thomas Johnson, David Stewart and David Carroll, Commissioners.
> "Joseph Clark, R. W. G. M., pro tem.
> "James Hoban and Stephen Hallate, Architects.
> "Collin Williamson, Master Mason."

The gavel used by President Washington on the same occasion is in the possession of Potomac Lodge; while Massachusetts Grand Lodge, at Boston, Massachusetts, treasures a golden urn containing a lock of Washington's

[1] Evidently when this gift was received the Boston incident of 1789 had been forgiven and forgotten. (Refer to page 216.)

[2] The trowel is illustrated on page 283.

1. Personal mementos in Alexandria-Washington Lodge.
2. Richmond Masonic hall.

© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

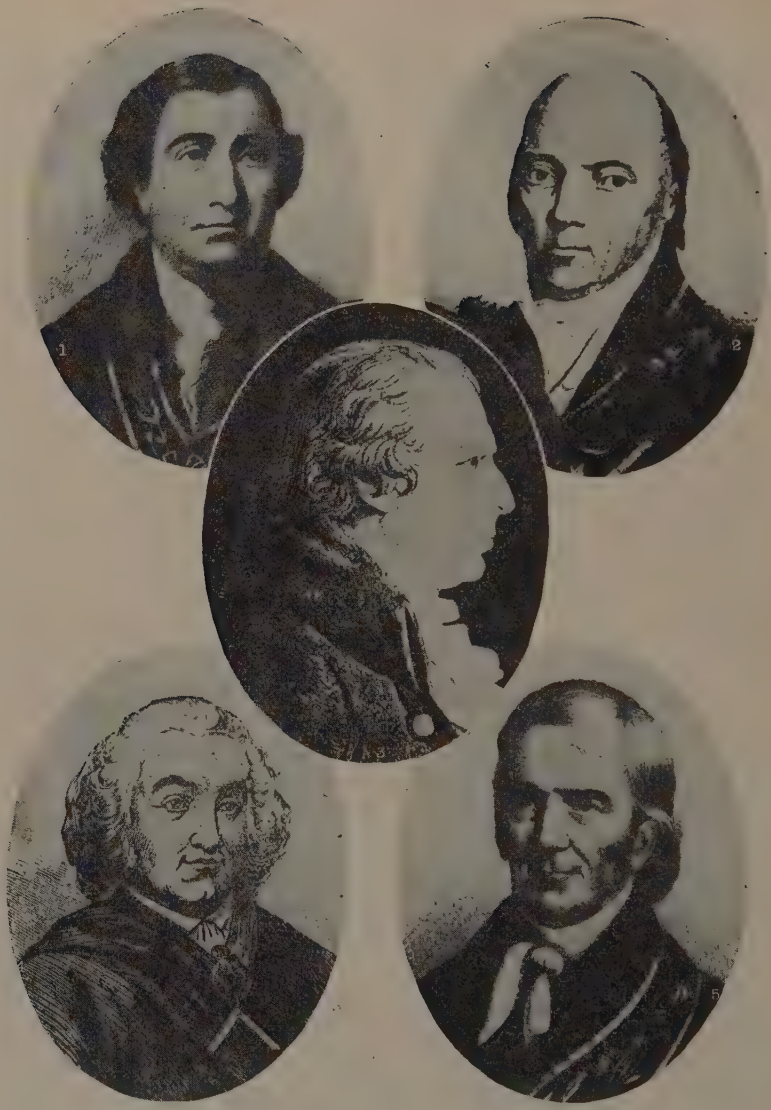
hair. This was presented to the Lodge, according to the inscription on the urn, by "his amiable widow."[1] Philadelphia Lodge owns a Masonic apron of fine material and workmanship made for Washington by Madame Lafayette.

Gavel used by Washington at laying of corner-stone of the Capitol. *Courtesy of Potomac Lodge No. 5. F. A. A. M.*

Golden urn containing Washington's hair. *Courtesy of Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.*

When Washington joined Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, Edmund Randolph was Grand Master. Randolph's uncle,

[1] Both of these relics—the gavel and the urn—are shown herewith. The facsimile of a letter written by Washington to Massachusetts Grand Lodge is reproduced on page 282.



Early Grand Masters of Virginia's Masonic Lodge.

1. Edmund Randolph. 2. John Blair.

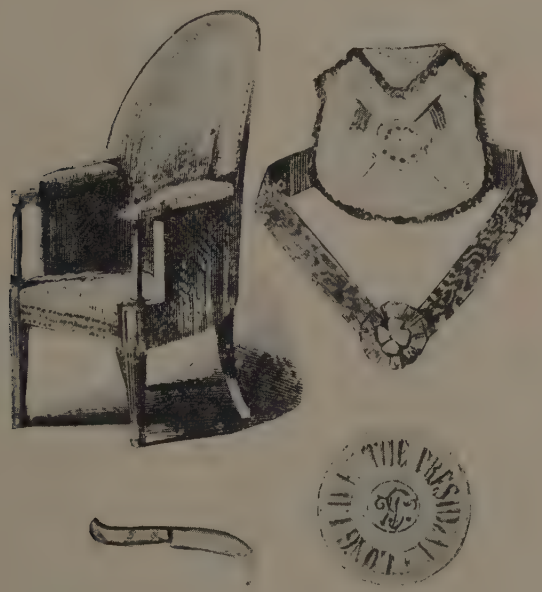
3. Dr. Elisha Dick.

4. Peyton Randolph. 5. John Marshall.

© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

Peyton Randolph,[1] had held the same office before him. Other early Grand Masters of this Lodge were John Marshall, Dr. Elisha Dick, and John Blair.[2]

The George Washington National Masonic Memorial, in course of erection at Alexandria by patriotic Masons



Washington's chair and insignia of Masonic office.
© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

from every section of the United States, will be an appropriate shrine to the revered memory of George Washington, the Mason; a shrine to which loyal Masons from all over the world will make pilgrimage.

The query is occasionally raised as to whether the 33d Degree in Masonry existed one hundred years ago. The

[1] Peyton Randolph was president of the first Continental Congress, and was elected to the same office in the second, but was compelled by ill health to resign, John Hancock taking his place. (Vol. I, page 310.)

[2] See portraits on page 288.

insignia on page 279, issued to Captain Jeremiah Bliss of Newport, R. I., proves that it did.

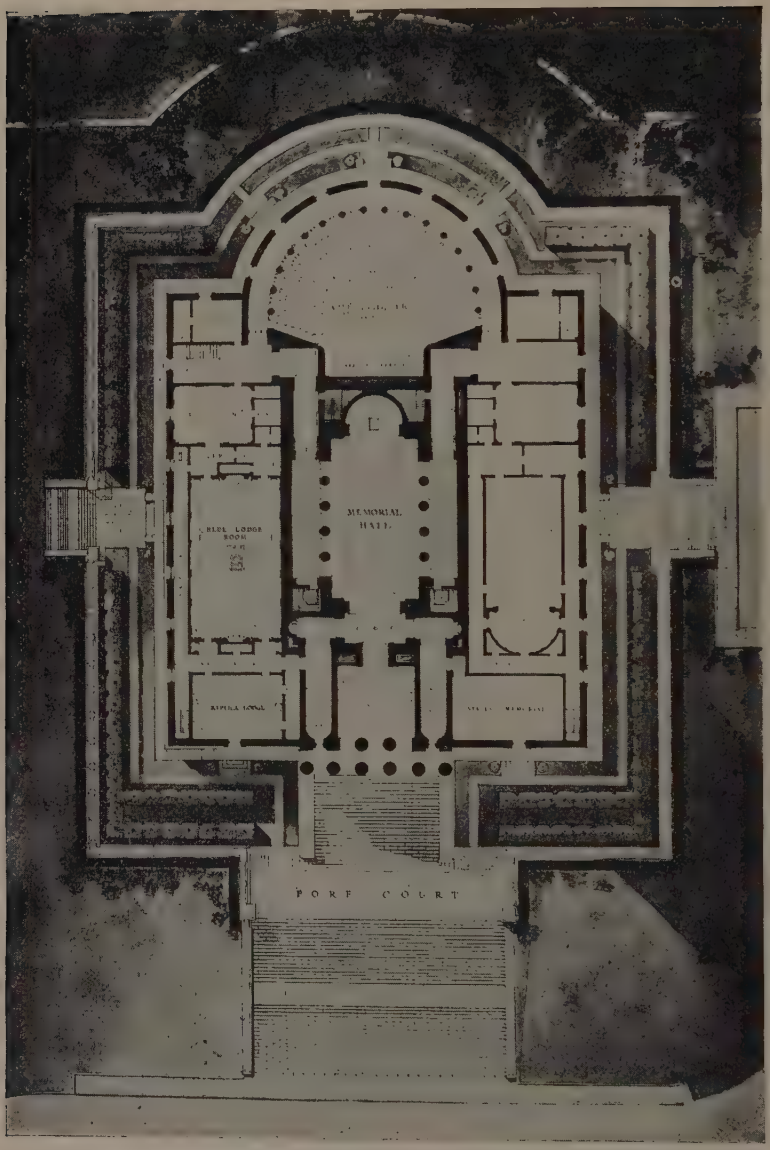
Picturesquely situated to command a wide panorama of the fertile Virginia country that Washington so deeply loved, this splendid Memorial (the foundation stone of

The George Washington Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Va. *Helmle & Corbett, N. Y., Architects.* © *George Washington National Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Va.*

which was laid by President Coolidge in 1923) is the visible expression of the poet's thought: "an anthem sung in stone." It has been compared to that wonder of the ancient world, Pharos:

> "As the Egyptian Alexandria had its columned Pharos, acting as a beacon to the sea voyager, so Alexandria in America has copied in substance the columned pile that looked across the Mediterranean."

Entrance to the National Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Va.
© George Washington National Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Va.



Floor plan of the George Washington National Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Va.

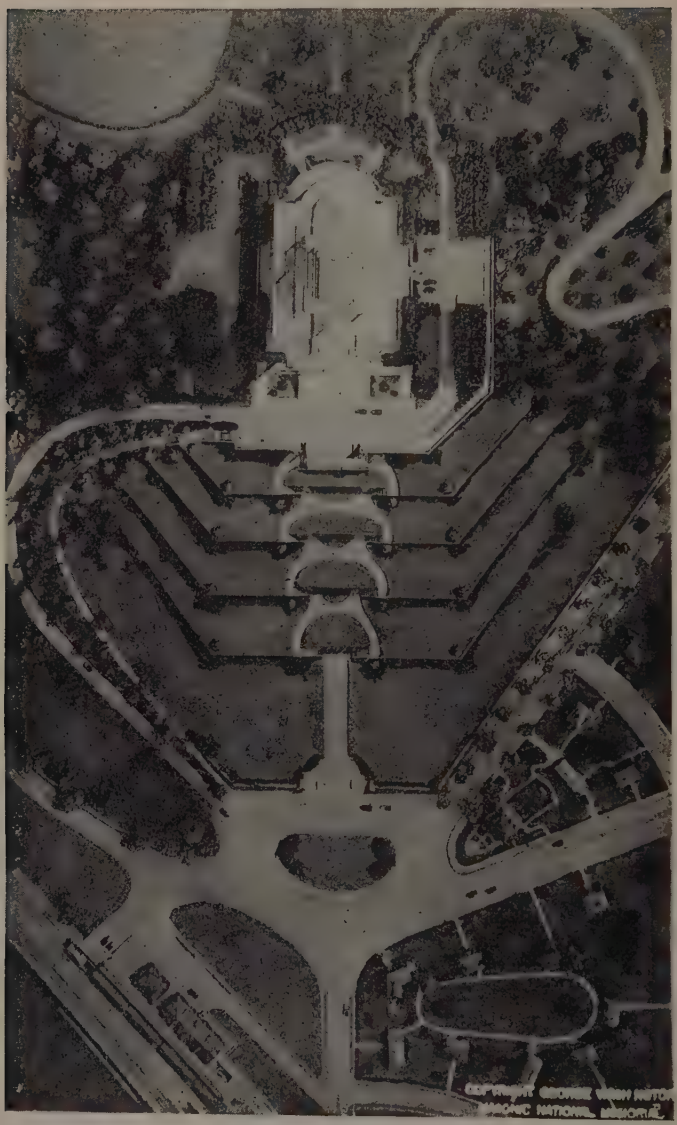
© *George Washington National Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Va.*

The comparison has been happily sustained:

"This modern Pharos of our own Alexandria typifies the Washington whose wisdom guided his countrymen, and who has taken his place for all time among the beacon lights of history."

Statue of Washington to be placed in an arched recess of the great atrium.
© *George Washington National Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Va.*

Masonic liberality has planned to spend two—possibly four—million dollars on this unique and beautiful structure;



Aeroplane view of the George Washington Masonic Memorial, at Alexandria, Va. © *George Washington National Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Va. Helme & Corbett, Architects.*

which is to be two hundred and thirty feet long, one hundred and sixty feet wide, and two hundred feet high.[1] The approach to the building is dignified and stately, with an air of space—and yet of seclusion—that is entirely in keeping with the spirit of the Memorial. The entrance is imposing—a six-columned portico of pure Greek Doric design, from which the visitor passes into the atrium, or Memorial Hall, the floor area of which is seventy by one hundred feet, and the height sixty-four feet. In an arched recess at the extreme end of the hall, a colossal statue of George Washington will be placed.

On the second floor the Alexandria-Washington Lodge will place its collection of Washington relics on permanent exhibition.[2] The fourth floor of the building will be given up to an observation platform, commanding a magnificent sweep of many miles of the surrounding country; including Mount Vernon, Arlington, the city of Washington and the silver ribbon of the green-bordered Potomac—all that is fairest and loveliest in "Washington Land." The most substantial building in America, if not in the world, is this Masonic Temple in Alexandria. It is not built like a modern skyscraper—an interior iron cage hung together with an exterior wall filling, instead of a wall support—but with a solid stone foundation, each stone set by one man—an unrivalled stone mason—and his assistants—a man whose father placed the capstone on the Washington monument. Approaches are built with cavernous foundations, to resist all forces of nature. The whole structure is a Masonic symbol, which will be standing five thousand years hence, though cities come and go.

[1] The five illustrations shown on pages 290–293 appear by special permission, granted to the author by the George Washington National Masonic Memorial Association, Alexandria, Va.

[2] Refer to page 286. Some valued relics were lost by fire when the former Lodge Room was burned, May 19, 1871.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

LAST DAYS AT MT. VERNON. WASHINGTON SPONSORS THE FIRST SUBMARINE, THE FIRST CANAL, THE FIRST STEAMBOAT. OUR LAST WAR WITH FRANCE. TRUXTUN AND THE "CONSTITUTION." NELLY CUSTIS' MARRIAGE ON WASHINGTON'S LAST BIRTHDAY

DURING the eight years of Washington's Presidency, his two adopted children had been growing up. Nelly, the elder of the two, was now a remarkably beautiful girl of eighteen, a society "bud" of more than usual distinction and promise. She had been something of a sensation in exclusive Philadelphia society within the last year of the family's residence in the Executive Mansion, and had received enough attention to have quite turned a head less sensible than her own. But Nelly Custis was as lovely in mind and heart as in person:[1] and had the advantage of a thoroughly practical bringing-up. Never was chaperon more wisely affectionate than Martha Washington; never was adopted parent more devoted than George Washington. Under such rare guidance, such kindly discipline as theirs, and surrounded by love and tenderness from her babyhood, Nelly could hardly be other than the charming and unspoiled maiden that she was.[2]

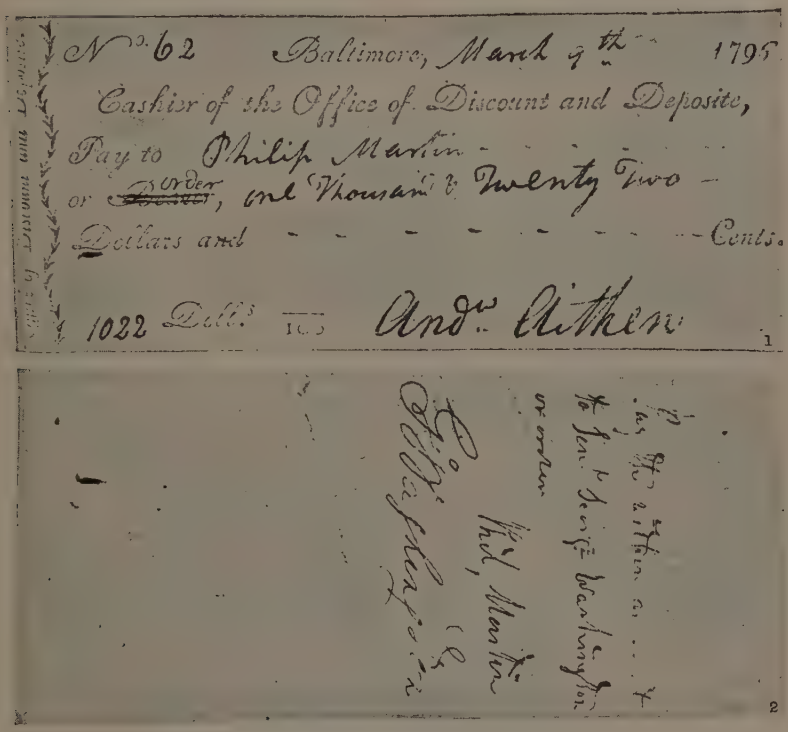
[1] Latrobe, the artist, who painted General Washington's portrait, shown on page 514, gives a charming word-picture of Nelly Custis:

"She has more perfection of form, of expression, of color, of softness, and of firmness of mind than I have ever seen before."

Latrobe was a friend of Washington, and the first architect of the Capitol at Federal City (now Washington, D. C.).

[2] It is recorded of Washington that having upon one occasion questioned Nelly's veracity, he was afterward greatly distressed. "My child, I beg your pardon!" he exclaimed, contritely, with the frank simplicity of which none but the great soul is capable.

It goes without saying that, long before the Washingtons returned to Mount Vernon, dainty Nelly had created a flutter in more than one masculine heart. General Washington, averse on general principles to very early marriage, had perhaps begun to feel for his favorite step-grandchild


No. 62 Baltimore, March 9th 1795

Cashier of the Office of Discount and Deposite,

Pay to Philip Martin - - - - - -

or ~~Bearer~~ order, one Thousand & Twenty Two -

Dollars and - - - - - - - - - Cents.

1022 Dolls 100 And. Aitken

Check bearing George Washington's indorsement.

some of the anxiety that he had felt—more than twenty years before—for her father, gay-hearted, high-spirited Jack Custis. In any case, we find him writing to her, even as early as 1795,—when she was only sixteen,—a brief but pointed homily on love:

'Love is said to be an involuntary passion; it is therefore contended that it cannot be resisted. This is

true in part only; for, like all things else, when nourished and supplied plentifully with aliment, it is rapid in its progress; but let these be withdrawn, it may be stifled in its birth, or much stunted in its growth."

But sweet Mistress Nelly was in no immediate danger from the "tender passion." As yet "heart-whole and fancy-free," she bestowed the sunshine of her lovely nature on stately Mount Vernon, lending the gayety of youth to the

Woodlawn, home of Lawrence and Nelly Custis Lewis.

declining years of the two devoted beings who had lavished such wealth of loving care upon her. Her romance was not to be long delayed however.

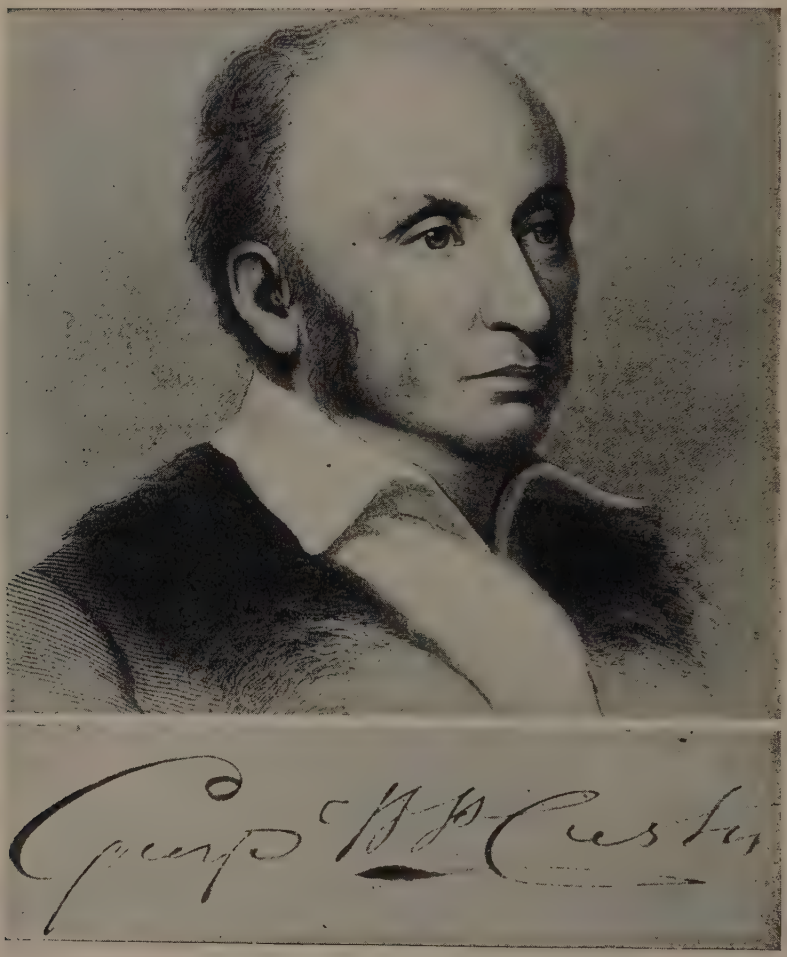
Nelly's brother, George Washington Parke Custis—called "Washington" in the family circle—was now sixteen, and—like his sister—devoted to his adopted parents. He was not as tractable as Nelly, however,—which was not, for that matter, to be expected. Like the father whom he had lost in his babyhood, he was overflowing with high spirits, a trifle indolent, and dowered with an innate aver-

sion to study. General Washington lived through many a perplexed hour on this boy's account; but the letters exchanged between the two indicate that, while on General

1. Lawrence Lewis. 2. Nelly Custis Lewis. 3. Their son, Lorenzo.
© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

Washington's part there was a keen sense of responsibility, and on the part of young Washington Custis an almost total lack of it, there was deep affection on both sides.

There were some amusing episodes between these two, and occasional flashes of sarcasm in letters written by



George Washington Parke Custis.

General Washington—which young Custis either failed to grasp, or else diplomatically ignored. Glimpses of the real Washington—the inner Washington—are perhaps more

clearly revealed in his intimate letters to Washington Custis than anywhere else; but in every line it is apparent that he is deeply solicitous for the future of this care-free youth. In one letter he writes:

> "Do not let your epistolary amusements interfere with your studies, which are of more interesting concern."

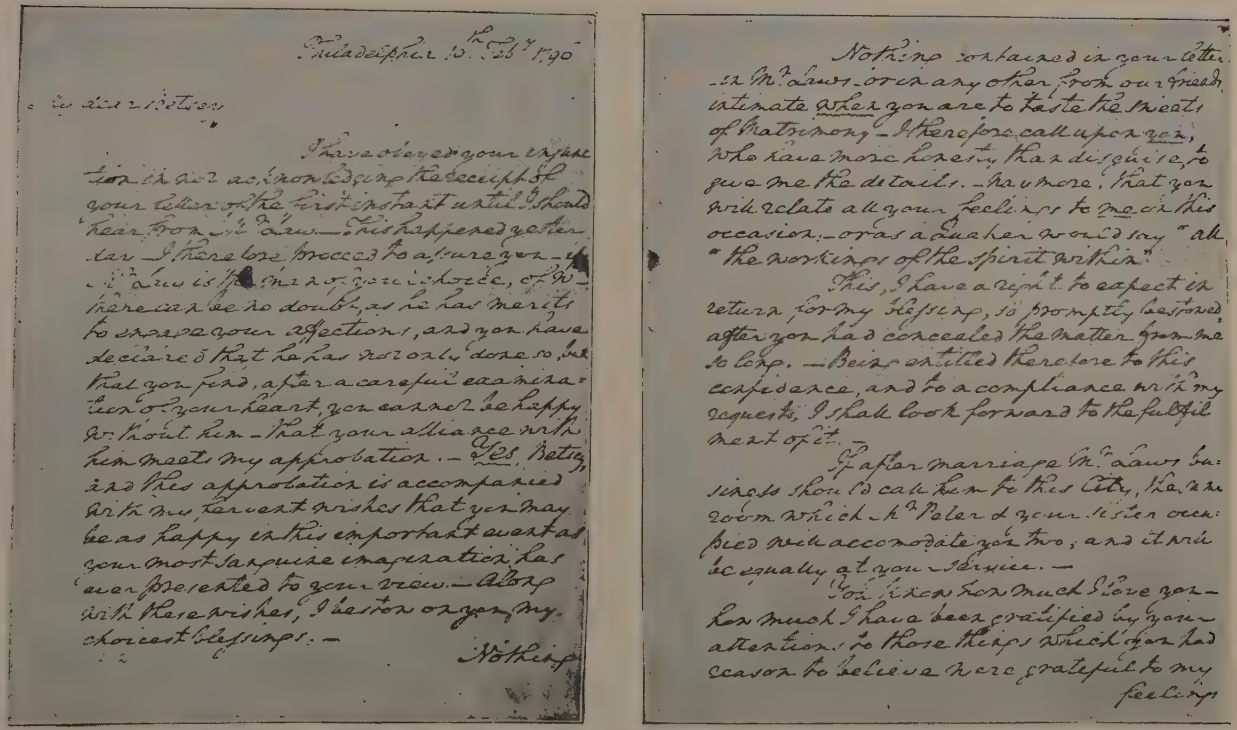
And the youth, concluding a letter written from Annapolis (May 5, 1798), unmistakably, if also unintentionally, reveals himself:

> "Adieu, dearest Sir! May heaven apportion your reward to your merit, is the sincere and ardent prayer of
>
> "G. W. P. C.
>
> "P. S.—I would thank you to inform me to whom I am to apply for money in case of need."

It requires no great stretch of the imagination to picture the General indulging in a quiet chuckle over this; but when he replied, he ignored the impassioned appeal to celestial powers, restricting his remarks to the more immediately important question of "hard cash":

> "I shall confine my reply at present to the query contained in the postscript: 'to whom I am to apply for money in case of need.' . . .
>
> "The distance between this and Annapolis is short, and the communication by post easy, regular and safe. Transmit the accounts of such expenses as are necessary to me in your letters, and a mode shall be devised for prompt and punctual payment of them." [1]

[1] Time, care, and the early loss of his foster-father (he was but eighteen when Washington died) sobered the young man; and to him, more than to any other, the world is indebted for most of its really accurate knowledge of the personality of the First President and the delightful home life of the Washington family. For additional notes on George Washington Parke Custis, refer to Note H, Appendix.



Philadelphia 10th July 1790

My dear Betsey

I have delayed your expression of joy as acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the first instant until I should hear from Mr Law — This happened yesterday — I therefore proceed to assure you — that Mr Law is in my opinion a good choice, of which there can be no doubt, as he has merits to engage your affections, and you have declared that he has never done so, but that you find, after a careful examination of your heart, you cannot be happy without him — That your alliance with him meets my approbation. — Yes, Betsy, and this approbation is accompanied with my fervent wishes that you may be as happy in this important event as your most sanguine imagination has ever presented to your view. — Along with these wishes, I bestow on you my choicest blessings. —

Nothing

Nothing contained in your letter — or Mr Laws — or any other from our friends intimate what you are to taste the sweets of Matrimony — I therefore call upon you, who have more honesty than disguise, to give me the details. — Have more, that you will relate all your feelings to me on this occasion — or as a Quaker would say "all "the workings of the spirit within".

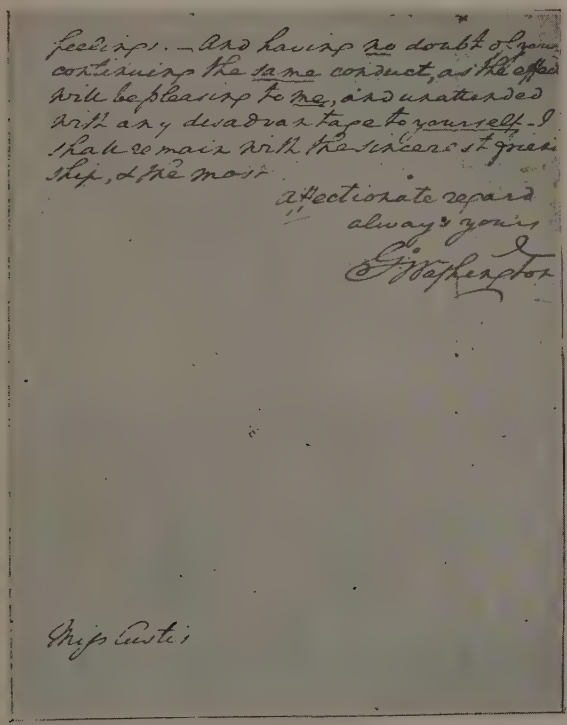
This, I have a right to expect in return for my blessing, is promptly bestowed after you had concealed the matter from me so long. — Being entitled therefore to this confidence, and to a compliance with my requests, I shall look forward to the fulfilment of it.

If after marriage Mr Laws business should call him to this City, the room which Mr Peter & your sister occupied will accomodate you two; and it will be equally at your service. —

For, I know how much I love you — how much I have been gratified by your attention to those things which you had reason to believe were grateful to my feelings

Facsimile letter from Washington to his step-granddaughter, Elizabeth (Betsy), daughter of John Parke Custis.

Himself childless, Washington was evidently a beneficent foster-father to most of the numerous young scions of his family; rescuing them, on occasion, from threatening reefs in the financial sea, and assisting them to steer their course


feelings. — And having no doubt of your continuing the same conduct, as the effect will be pleasing to me, and unattended with any disadvantage to yourself. I shall remain with the sincerest friendship, & the most affectionate regard always yours
G. Washington
Miss Custis

Facsimile letter from Washington to his step-grand-daughter, Elizabeth (Betsey), daughter of John Parke Custis.

through life.[1] It is certain that they flew to him in most of their not infrequent emergencies, and, in a sense, looked up to him as the arbiter of their destinies.

When his step-granddaughter, Elizabeth (Betsey) Parke Custis (one of Nelly's two elder sisters), wrote asking for his approval of her marriage with Thomas Law, Washington

[1] The various bequests in his will prove this.

replied in a letter which, in every line, breathes the deepest affection—although it mildly criticizes the fact that he had not been earlier informed of the budding romance:

"Philadelphia, 10th Feb^y, 1796.

"My dear Betsey,

"I have obeyed your injunction in not acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the first instant until I should hear from Mr. Law. This happened yesterday. I therefore proceed to assure you—if Mr. Law is the man of your choice, of which there can be no doubt, as he has merits to engage your affections, and you have declared that he has not only done so, but that you find, after a careful examination of your heart, you cannot be happy without him—that your alliance with him meets my approbation.

"*Yes*, Betsey; and this approbation is accompanied with my fervent wishes that you may be as happy in this important event as your most sanguine imagination has ever presented to your view. Along with these wishes, I bestow on you my choicest blessings.

"Nothing contained in your letter—or in Mr. Law's or in any other from our friends, intimates *when* you are to taste the sweets of matrimony. I therefore call upon *you*, who have more honesty than disguise, to give me the details. Nay, more, that you will relate all your feelings to *me*, on this occasion—or, as a Quaker would say, "all the workings of the spirit within."

"This, I have a right to expect in return for my blessing, so promptly bestowed, after you had concealed the matter from me so long. Being entitled therefore to this confidence, and to a compliance with my requests, I shall look forward to the fulfilment of it.

"If, after marriage, Mr. Law's business should call him to this city, the same room which Mr. Peter and your sister occupied will accommodate you two, and it will be equally at your service.

"You know how much I love you—how much I have been gratified by your attentions to those things which you had reason to believe were grateful to my feelings. And having *no* doubt of your continuing the *same* conduct, as the effect will be pleasing to *me*, and unattended with any disadvantage to *yourself*, I shall remain, with the sincerest friendship and the most affectionate regard,

"Always yours,
"G. Washington."

"Miss Custis."[1]

One young relative who found a home at Mount Vernon—and sometimes sorely tried the General's patience—was

"Harewood," home of Samuel Washington, near White Post, built 1765.

his niece, Harriott, daughter of his much-married brother, Samuel.[2] During the eight or nine years that Harriott lived at Mount Vernon, her carelessness often ruffled the serenity of her uncle George, who was fastidious to a degree. A letter

[1] See facsimile on pages 302–303. The original of this letter is in the collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, by whose courtesy it is published here.

[2] Samuel Washington, who lived at Harewood (illustrated above), not far from the home of Lord Fairfax, was married five times, his various wives being: Jane, Mildred, Lucy, Anne and Susannah. George Washington once

written to Tobias Lear in 1790, with regard to Niece Harriott, shows that, even amid the multitudinous cares of office, Washington never overlooked any claim of family life:

"Dear Sir:

" . . . The easy and quiet temper of Fanny is little fitted for the care of my niece, Harriott Washington, who is grown almost, if not quite a woman; and what to do with her at the advanced size she has arrived at I am really at a loss. Her age (just turned of fourteen) is not too great for a boarding school, but to enter *now* with any tolerable prospects, the mistress of it must not only be respectable, but one who established and will enforce good rules. She is prone to idleness, having been under no control; would create all the difficulty. . . . I have formed no resolution respecting what would be proper for me to do with her, but that I may the better judge, I request that you will inquire whether there be a proper school for her to board at in Philadelphia. If so, whether there are at it genteel girls of her size and age—who the mistress of it is—what her character, terms, etc., the numbers at it—who are the principal families, and how they are entertained and accommodated.

"To Tobias Lear."[1]

remarked that his brother Samuel "could not be called successful." His portrait is shown on page 335. Samuel Washington died in 1781.

Washington wrote his orphan niece Harriott November 1, 1791:

"You are now to learn your fortune is small:
Supply the want of it, then, with a well cultivated mind, with disposition to industry and frugality, with gentleness of manners, obliging temper, and such qualifications as will attract notice and recommend you to a happy establishment for life."

[1] The above letter is from the unrivalled collection of Washington's letters to Colonel Tobias Lear, owned and copyrighted by Mr. William K. Bixby, of St. Louis, Mo.

The "Fanny" mentioned in the letter is undoubtedly Fanny Bassett, Mrs. Washington's niece, who had married George Augustine Washington, George Washington's nephew, in October, 1785, and who was looking after the household at Mount Vernon at the time this letter was written. Washington wrote to her when she was in charge there, instructing her to furnish his best wines only to his intimate friends.

After the death of her husband, Fanny went to Alexandria, and lived in Wash-

Six years later Miss Harriott was still on the mind of the family—a fact which makes itself very clear in this unique letter from Betty Lewis to her brother George:

"June 26th, 1796.

"My dear Brother,

"Your letter of the 27th of April I received and should have Answered it sooner but expecting you in dayly postponed writing until you arriv'd at Mount Vernon, not hearing from you again on Harriott's subject. I have been makeing all the enquirey I could concerning Mr. Parks that was in my power. I have heard nothing to his disadvantage, on the contrary he is respected by all his acquaintance. He is a constant Visitor here and I believe Harriott's affections are placed intirely on him, and engaged so far as this if your consent can be obtained.

"Harriott begs you will pardon her not writing herself, but hopes your being fully acquainted with her sentiments concerning Mr. Parks will be some apology. She is not well. I believe her anxiety for fear of offending and not gaining your consent has produc'd this, your long Silence has given her much uneasiness.

"My Dear Brother, if you have any Mules for sale and can let me have one I will with pleasure pay you the Price of it. I am under the necessity of purchasing a Work Nag and prefer a Mule.

"Harriott joines me in love and good wishes for you and my sister Washington and believe me your Affect^e sister

"Betty Lewis."

(Inscribed: "Free. The President of the United States, Mount Vernon." Endorsed in Washington's autograph:

"From Mrs. Betty Lewis, 26th June, 1796."[1]

ington's former surveying office. She afterward married Colonel Lear, Washington's secretary, whose home at the time was the Wellington house, three miles below Alexandria.

[1] For permission to print this letter the author is indebted to Mr. William K. Bixby, of St. Louis, Mo.

It must have been something of a relief to buy Niece Harriott a hundred-dollar trousseau and definitely pass this responsibility in petticoats on to the care of her happy bridegroom.

Many important enterprises claimed Washington's attention during his brief retirement. Prior to assuming the reins

Washingon surveyed and built the first canal in the United States at Great Falls, Virginia. One of the above locks was blasted from solid rock. *Courtesy of J. P. Bell Co., Lynchburg, Va.*

of government, he had become interested in various developments which promised ultimate benefit; but these had, of necessity, been delegated to other hands for the time being. For Washington was above all things conscientious; and while he kept in touch with the concerns of his home and his native State, he never left his post except upon urgent business connected—directly or indirectly—with the Executive Office.

Among the matters which had claimed his interest in those pre-Presidential years had been the formation of the Upper Potowmac Improvement Company, of which he had been elected president. He devoted much thought and energy to the launching and development of this company; but even earlier he had conceived a plan for connecting by canal the head waters of the Ohio river and Chesapeake Bay.[1] And out of all this planning and visualizing the Potowmac Canal Company had evolved,[2] turning into actuality a prophetic vision of long ago, when he had written:

> "I could not help taking a more contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States from maps and the information of others, and could not but be struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it, and with the goodness of that Providence which has dealt His favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them."

And again, to his friend, Lafayette:

> "I have it in contemplation to make a tour through all the Eastern States, thence into Canada, thence up the St. Lawrence and through the Lakes to Detroit, thence to Lake Michigan by land or water, thence through the western country by the River Illinois and the River Mississippi, and down the same to New Orleans, thence into Georgia by way of Pensacola, then through the Carolinas home. A great tour this, you will say."

These two letters clearly illustrate the far-sightedness—rather, the sublimity of vision—of our greatest American.

[1] He had written to Jefferson, in Paris, of this scheme; and had also requested Jefferson to inquire into the manufacture of glass, and to send him all available data on the subject.

[2] It was not until 1802, two years after Washington's death, that the locks were completed and the canal opened for business.

Virginia's Niagara, at Great Falls, near which Washington built the first canal and first locks. *Courtesy of J. P. Bell, Lynchburg, Va.*

A
Description and Draught
OF A
NEW-INVENTED
MACHINE
For carrying VESSELS or SHIPS
By Jonathan Hulls.
London: Printed for the Author, 1737.

Jonathan Hull's book of steam navigation, printed in 1737. *Courtesy of New York Public Library.*

Washington never made the grand tour he had mapped out, but he made many shorter ones; and with every trip the vision expanded, approaching nearer and nearer to stability. At Great Falls one may see to-day a bronze tablet in honor of George Washington, first officer of the Potowmac Company. The Potowmac Canal served as a model for the numerous large canals that were dug later,—developing the gigantic scheme of inland waterways that now intersect the American Continent; the scheme that originally sprang into being in the fertile brain of George Washington.

Fulton's steamboat on the Hudson.

Writing to Patrick Henry on the twenty-ninth of October, 1785, Washington had declined to accept fifty shares in the Potowmac Company and one hundred shares in the James River Company, voted to him in the previous January, except on condition that he might ultimately divert the fund from his private emolument to objects of a public nature. This he did in his will.

In line with his progressive ideas as to canal and river navigation, Washington had become interested in the construction of power boats. As early as 1784 he had given his opinion with regard to the merits of a mechanical boat invented by James Rumsey:

> "I have seen the model of Mr. Rumsey's boat constructed to work against stream, have examined the power from which it acts, have been an eye-witness to actual experiment in running water of some rapidity, and do give it as my opinion (although I had little faith before) that he has discovered the art of propelling

boats by mechanism and small manual assistance against rapid currents; that the discovery is of vast importance, may be of the greatest usefulness in our inland navigation, and if it succeeds, of which I have no doubt, that the value of it is greatly enhanced by the simplicity of the works, which, when seen and explained to, might be executed by the most common mechanic.

"Given under my hand in the Town of Bath, County of Berkeley, State of Virginia, this seventeenth of September, 1784.

"(Signed) George Washington."[1]

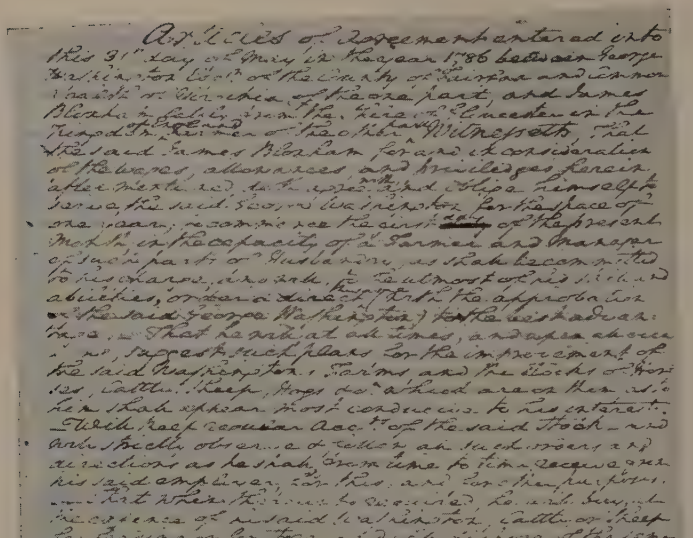
[1] James Rumsey was a superintendent of the Upper Potowmac Improvement Company. In 1788 he went to Philadelphia, formed the Rumseyan Society, with Benjamin Franklin as treasurer, and went to London. There he secured patents on his device, constructed a boat, and launched it on the Thames in the spring of 1790. While thus occupied, he met Robert Fulton, with whom he formed a warm friendship.

It is time that those who have regarded Fulton as the discoverer of steam navigation should recognize the fact that Rumsey invented a power boat nineteen years before Fulton launched his first steamboat on the Seine (in 1803). And in 1785 John Fitch launched on the Delaware the first wheel-propeller craft. Any one of these three inventors, with due diligence, might have seen Jonathan Hull's book on steam navigation, printed in London fifty years before Fitch built his first boat. In this book Hull illustrates a boat propelled by steam, and gives full details of the appliances required to attain results. Hull was granted an English patent on his boat.

In 1775 Washington's attention was directed to the earliest known type of submarine. Commander Bemis, U. S. N., graphically outlined in 1923 Washington's part in sponsoring this invention:

Washington wrote Thomas Jefferson to the effect that a Mr. Bushnell had contrived a machine that could carry itself under water at any given depth, and for a considerable distance, by means of an appendage charged with powder, which, when striking an anchored ship, would destroy it. The craft was a small, one-man affair, possessing several features that are recognized, in these days, as essential for submarine navigation—buoyancy among them. The vessel was lighter than the water displaced when submerged, had a fixed center of gravity, and arrangements for compensating with water ballast for weight expended. It was forced under the surface by a vertical propeller, and driven forward by a horizontal one. Both were operated, through a crank system, by one man.

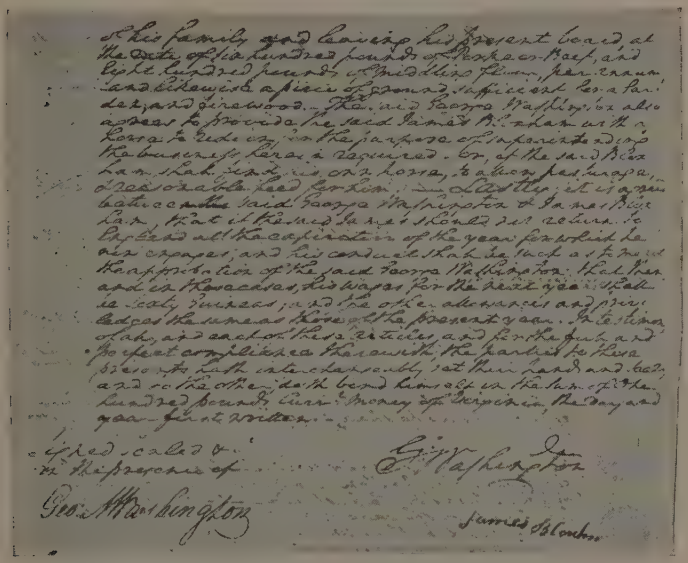
Admiral Howe's flagship, the *Eagle*, narrowly escaped destruction in 1776 by this first submarine in New York harbor. Ezra Lee, who was operating the boat, attached a bomb to the ship's keel, but it failed to hold. In order to escape capture he put on speed. The bomb exploded at a distance of about one hundred feet from the ship. Washington, who spent the night on the dock, heard the explosion, and saw the half-drowned patriot finally reach shore.



Articles of Agreement entered into this 31st day of May in the year 1786 between George Washington Esq. of the County of Fairfax and Common wealth of Virginia of the one part, and James Bloxham of Belvoir near the City of Chichester in the County of Sussex Farmer of the other part, Witnesseth, that the said James Bloxham for and in consideration of the wages, allowances and privileges hereinafter mentioned to be given and allowed him, hereby agrees, that he the said George Washington, for the space of one year, to commence the ninth day of the present month in the capacity of a Farmer and Manager of some part of his lands, as shall be committed to his charge, do work, for the utmost of his skill and abilities, under and subject to the approbation of the said George Washington, to the best advantage. That he will at all times, and upon above occasions, suggest such plans for the improvement of the said Washington's Farms and the stocks of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Hogs &c. attached and on them as shall appear most conducive to his interest. With proper account of the said stock — and with such other and other matters and directions as he shall from time to time receive from his said employer, in this and every other purpose. That when the time is expired, he will serve the owners of said Washington, Cattle or Sheep, or Swine, or Bees, and with a piece of the same or some other land for the best advantage, attending and giving to the care & management of the stock of every kind both in Winter & Summer as such shall be for the use and benefit of the Farm, and for family consumption, as those which may be fatted for market. That he will use his utmost endeavours to increase, and properly distribute the manure of the farms, and also with improving the best of his judgment the implements of husbandry necessary, the sets and stock, as occasion may require, and opportunities offer, the labourers thereof, he to plough, sow, mow, thrash, hatch, hedge &c. in the best manner. And generally, that he will consider the said Farms as his interest at his own, and use his best endeavours to promote and improve the same. In consideration whereof the said George Washington do agree to pay the said James Bloxham fifty guineas for his and his services, to be compleated on the first day of May 1787, and will also pay the said Bloxham ten guineas besides towards defraying the expences of bringing his wife and family to this country. The other three shall have arrived, he with Moveables &c. then & decent and comfortable house to reside in, for themselves, with land the three cows for Milk & ten to raise a Pig, for their own eating, but not to sell, and give them as much Malt as is sufficient to brew Beer, for his family use. And moreover will allow them for the part of the year which remains after the arrival of

Contract between Washington and Bloxham, his English manager.

All the available evidence concerning Washington's busy life, his alert mind and his rapid assimilation of progessive ideas, points inevitably to the conclusion that he was a modernist of the first order, ever ready to investigate new inventions and, if feasible, sometimes to assist in financing their development. Upon his return to private life, he resumed many of his earlier activities, finding the rest he



Contract between Washington and Bloxham, his English manager.

needed chiefly in change of occupation. The Potowmac Company still held his interest; but life was full of interests for Washington.[1]

Agricultural pursuits, however, claimed first place as

[1] At Matildaville, now deserted and almost forgotten, one may still see the broad, flat rock on which Washington and his friends, on their picnic fishing excursions, cooked their planked shad—the reward of their labors on the Potomac. In the near-by forest, whence they procured the aromatic wood for the fire—may still be found traces of the old canal which once brought hogsheads of tobacco from Lynchburg to Alexandria.

they had always done, when patriotic duty allowed room for the claim. He had often emphasized this:

> "Agriculture has ever been the favorite amusement of my life. To see plants rise from the earth and flourish by the superior skill and bounty of the laborer fills a contemplative mind with ideas which are more easy to be conceived than expressed."

And again:

> "How much more delightful to an undebauched mind is the task of making improvements on the earth than all the vainglory which can be acquired by ravaging it by the most uninterrupted career of conquest."

Washington made a practice of procuring the best and most modern farming implements, importing both machinery and men when these were needed for the better development of his property;[1] gave the most thoughtful care to his crops,[2] his animals, his "people," and the various activities of his large estate; but when he had done all that it was within human power to do, he left the results—as his diaries and his letters reveal—to the Divine Will. During his Presidency he wrote to his manager:

> "I learn with concern that your crops are still laboring under a drought, and most of them very much injured. At disappointments and losses which are the effects of Providential acts, I never repine, because I am sure the All-wise Disposer of events knows better than we do what is best for us, or what we deserve."

[1] Through his London agent, William Peacey, Washington imported a farm manager in 1786—one James Bloxham, who was evidently a man of parts, if one may judge by the contract (see page 314). Bloxham remained on the Mount Vernon plantations four years, and was well paid for his work, according to the terms of contract.

[2] While at one time an advocate of the one-crop plan, Washington was an early convert to the more scientific method of crop rotation.

Aeroplane view of Mt. Vernon. *Courtesy of New York Times.*

The same belief in an omniscient Deity sustained him in everything he essayed to do. If it were sound and honest in principle, he figured, it was bound to come out right in the end; and he looked to it that it *was* sound and honest in principle. There was no place in George Washington's moral code for "shady" schemes—though he could meet

Views of old Mount Vernon.

subtlety with subtlety in war and diplomacy, and few could outdistance him in business acumen and clear vision.[1]

Washington was not an assiduous reader, but kept up with current events through the newspapers and agricultural journals, both at home and abroad, and, in these later years, turned frequently—when he had leisure—to literature of a higher order. He possessed an excellent library, and found special enjoyment in Voltaire's Letters, the Life of Charles XII, Locke on The Human Under-

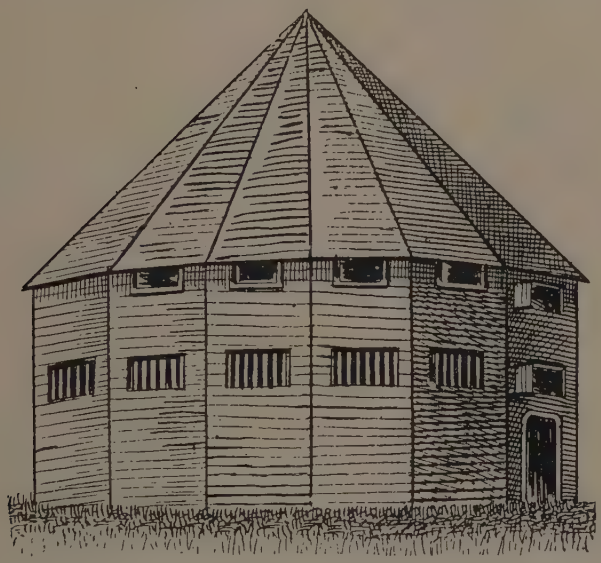
[1] Washington thus diplomatically avoided giving indorsement:
"C. Volney does not require any introduction from George Washington."

1. Potomac River.
2. Bird's-eye view, Mount Vernon, by Theodore R. Davis.

Views of Mount Vernon.

standing, Robertson's Charles V, and other books of similarly serious cast.[1]

Hospitality was still—as it had ever been—the dominating spirit at Mount Vernon. Only once in a period of several years, Washington wrote to a friend, did he and



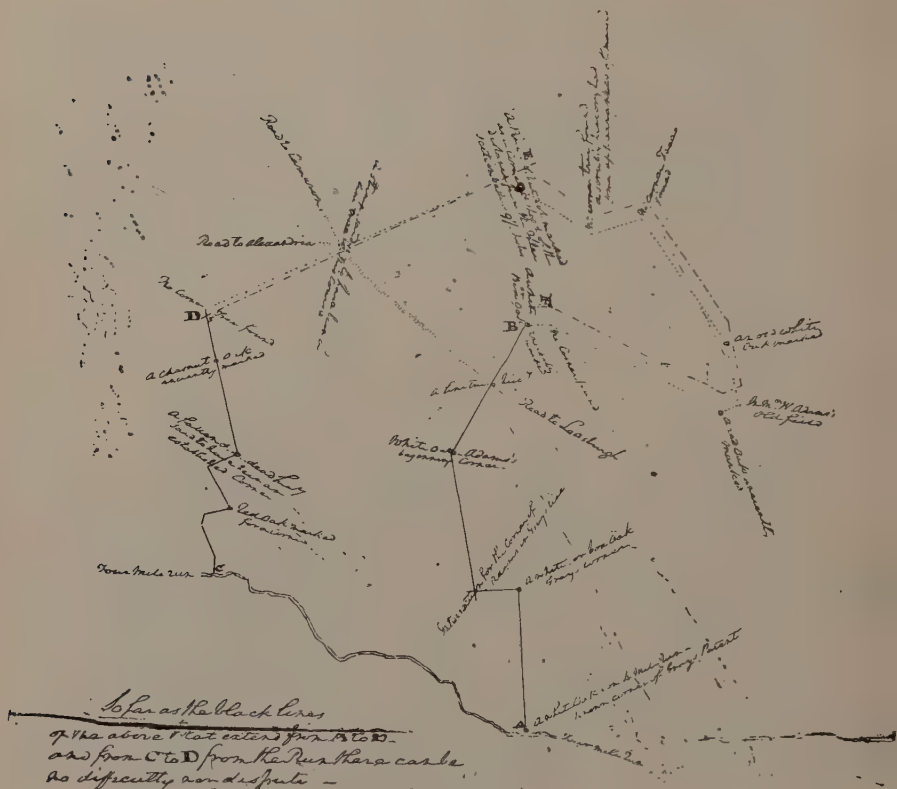
Washington's experimental many-sided barn, built on Dogue Run Farm.

Mrs. Washington dine alone; and additional light on the subject is given by a French traveller, who thus depicts the

[1] Literary topics sometimes crept into the letters of Washington to Lafayette. In referring to the Universal Dictionary of Languages, which interested Catherine of Russia, he said:

> "To know the affinity of tongues seems to be one step toward promoting the affinity of nations."

The library at Mount Vernon contains volumes which were seized by French commanders from English cruisers and presented to General Washington; and others which were seized from French vessels and presented by foreign governments. It appears that all nations were equally eager to do honor to the great American.



So far as the black lines of the above Plat extend from A to B and from C to D from the Run there can be no difficulty nor dispute —

Nor can there be any elsewhere if ancient corners, or marked lines are to be found, because these must govern & decide but if these are wanting some difficulty may occur — but even in these with reasonable men difficulties may be easily overcome —

From the Intersection at D, supposing the tree at E to be a corner tree (which by the Rule is more like a line tree) and the stump in the log house at the Forks of the Road to be a line tree, & the course between these to be the true one, the distance from the said intersection will fall 9 1/2 poles short of what the Patent the Patent requires — and pursuing the courses and distances as by Dr. Moughs Survey, allowing for Vare. they will end at F.

On the other hand — to proceed from B reversing the courses & distances of Moughs Survey allowing for variation as above — the last course will end at C — But neither of these will give me more than about [illegible] or 1160 Acres when I ought to have 1225 — 9. 27

Washington's last survey, April, 1799.

dolce far niente existence of an honored guest at Mount Vernon:

> "Your apartments were your house; the servants of the house were yours; and while every inducement was held up to bring you into the general society of the drawing room or the table, it rested with yourself to be served or not with everything in your own chamber."

It was the ideal Southern home; the home of a Southern gentleman of the old school who possessed all the distinctive courteous qualities of the South. Thither flocked the intellect, genius and dignity of Europe and America. Washington was never permitted to retire completely from public life. In the very nature of things that was manifestly impossible. The many officers who had served under his command, old Revolutionary soldiers of the ranks, Congressmen, diplomats, planters, and friends and admirers from near and far, flocked constantly to Mount Vernon for greetings and conferences—sure always of a genial welcome and hospitable cheer.[1]

When one of Washington's former comrades-in-arms called at Mount Vernon to see his old Chief, the General was taking his daily jaunt over his plantations. The visitor, deciding to go out to meet him, was directed to look for "an old gentlemen with a white hat and an umbrella, riding alone on horseback."

Time passed very pleasantly for Washington during the first months of his newly-acquired freedom; of that one can have no doubt; but rumors of impending trouble reached his ears with disturbing frequency from the seat of govern-

[1] Dec. 18, 1797, Mrs. Washington wrote to Mrs. Morris:

"The General says he has entered into an engagement with Mr. Morris and several other gentlemen not to leave the theatre of this world before the year 1800, and it may be relied no breach of contract shall be laid to him on that account unless dire necessity bring it about, maugre all his exertions to the contrary; in that case he shall hope they would do by him as he would by them—excuse it." (Washington died eighteen days before the time he set.)

ment. Hostile feeling against America had existed in France almost from the beginning of the French Revolution; and this had manifested itself in outrageous treatment of the American Ministers in Paris. The French Directory had made it clear that they considered the United States in duty

Washington as an old man, going over his plantations.
© *Harper Bros.*

bound to reciprocate the consideration which France had shown to the American Republic in its infancy, and were plainly chagrined when the aid they demanded was not forthcoming. The recall of Citizen Genet in 1793 had added fuel to the smouldering flame;[1] while, on the other hand, the undiplomatic behavior of his successors, Citizens Fauchet and Adet, had not endeared the French Republic to America.

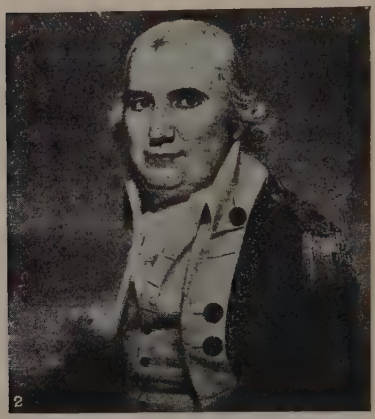
[1] See pages 244–245.

In 1796 General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney—who had been with Washington at Brandywine and Germantown in

The Mount Vernon property as plotted by Washington in 1799. (Evidently drawn to prevent disputes over his will. © *Alexandria-Washington Lodge — A.F. & A.M.*

1777, and had helped to frame the Constitution in 1787—had been sent to France as Minister. He quarrelled with the Directory, and when they had the effrontery to demand

$240,000 for an *interview*, threatening to "devastate the American coast if it were not forthcoming," he defied the Directory with the historic phrase "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" The reply was commemorated in a copper token, which became popular among Americans in all lands.



Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

In the last days of Washington's Presidency there had been open rupture between the two countries, the result of the obnoxious activities of French cruisers in blocking American commerce in the West Indies; and Citizen Adet, the French Minister in America, then broke off diplomatic relations and returned to France. In 1798 the trouble came to a head, and war against France was finally declared.

The American nation demanded that General Washington take command of the Army in this new crisis. James McHenry, Secretary of War,[1] went personally to Mount Vernon in July, 1798, and delivered to the veteran Commander his new commission as "Lieutenant-General and

"Not One Cent for Tribute."

[1] Few of his military friends were closer to Washington than James McHenry, to whom he presented a portrait of himself—now in the possession of Mr. Luke Vincent Lockwood, of New York City.

"War is on again, General; this time with France; I bring you the will of the nation," said James McHenry. © *Jones Brothers Publishing Co.*

Commander-in-Chief of all Armies raised or to be raised in the service of the United States." The document bore the signature of John Adams, President of the United States, and the date July 4, 1798. A significant date, indeed![1]

Secretary McHenry found the General riding over his fields of newly-mown hay, superintending the work of the haymakers.

"War is on again, General," he said, dismounting; "this time with France. I bring you the will of the nation."

Washington replied that, so long as he was able, he would never refuse to answer the call of Duty; but he accepted the commission only on condition that General Hamilton be appointed Acting Commander-in-Chief. Probably the truth was that while his will and his courage were as indomitable as ever, his age (his arduous life had made him older than his sixty-six years) and his physical condition both forbade his active participation in combat on the field.

Not that he admitted this; that, indeed, would not have been Washington's way. Instead, he once more relinquished the ploughshare for the sword, and immediately set about organizing his army[2] and planning his campaign, with all the zest and eagerness of the Washington of yore. But Destiny, having tested his mettle and found it strong and

[1] A photograph of the original document is reproduced on page 329.

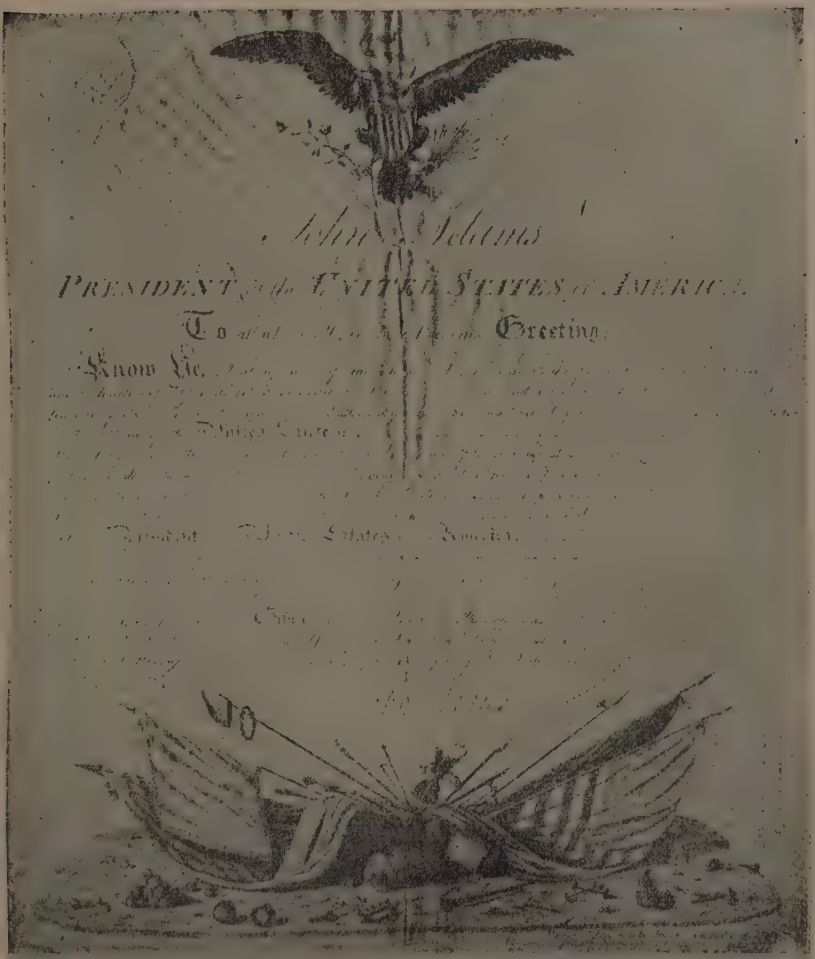
[2] When Washington was selecting his personnel in 1798, a certain colonel was suggested for a post on the staff. Washington wrote, concerning this officer:

> "Shall I find Colonel H. unaltered, and as I knew him to be in other days?"

The answer was apparently satisfactory, for Washington made the appointment. He took nothing for granted. To win his confidence, a man must measure up to the full standard; to keep it, he must not slacken. Of this same Colonel, General Daniel Morgan said that he was "the most daring of all who dare"; adding:

> "During the greatest horrors of our march it was he who cheered us on, for oft have I seen him dance upon the snow, while he gnawed his moccasins for subsistence."

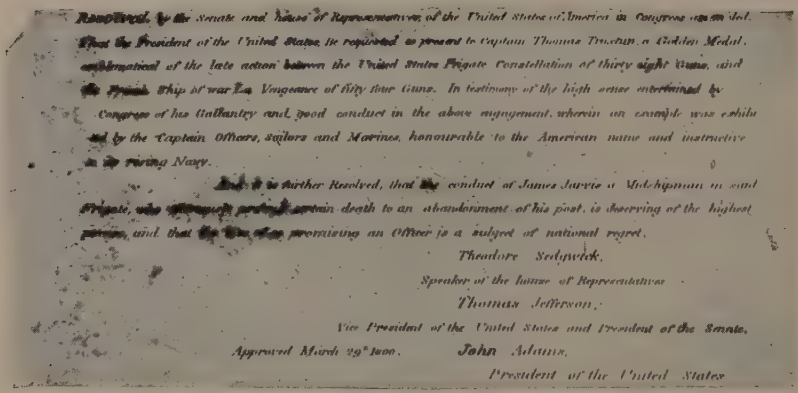
Morgan probably referred to the march through the Maine Wilderness to Quebec.



COMMISSION GIVEN TO WASHINGTON BY CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1798, APPOINTING HIM "LIEUTENANT-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF ALL ARMIES RAISED OR TO BE RAISED FOR THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES"
(From photograph of the original document in the Naval War Records Library, Washington)

Washington's commission as Commander-in-Chief, signed by John Adams, July 4, 1798.

true as ever, decided the issue in her own way. The United States Navy, under Captain Truxtun, though still in



Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to present to Captain Thomas Truxtun a Golden Medal, commemorative of the late action between the United States Frigate Constellation of thirty eight Guns, and the French Ship of war La Vengeance of fifty four Guns. In testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of his Gallantry and good conduct in the above engagement, wherein an example was exhibited by the Captain Officers, Sailors and Marines, honourable to the American name and instructive to the rising Navy.

And it is further Resolved, that the conduct of James Jarvis a Midshipman in said Frigate, who [illegible] certain death to an abandonment of his post, is deserving of the highest praise, and that the loss of so promising an Officer is a subject of national regret.

Theodore Sedgwick,
Speaker of the house of Representatives.
Thomas Jefferson,
Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.
Approved March 29th 1800. John Adams,
President of the United States.

Resolution to present gold medal to Captain Thomas Truxtun.

its forming, thrashed the French so severely in West Indian waters that the Directory in Paris materially changed its point of view. Diplomacy was brought to bear on the

1–2. Medal presented to Captain Thomas Truxtun by the United States.

situation, and the French war-dogs were leashed without a land conflict.[1] In the naval fighting off the West Indies

[1] The final peace treaty was not signed, however, until September 30, 1800—nearly a year after General Washington's death.

the *Constellation* and the *Delaware* did splendid work, which included the capture of two French frigates. Captain Thomas Truxtun, whose superb handling of the *Constellation*, with thirty-eight guns, won the victory over *La Vengeance*, with fifty-four guns, was cited for his distinguished service, and received from his country a testimonial and a gold medal.[1]

On Washington's last birthday, February 22, 1799, lovely Nelly Custis was married. She had given her heart to Lawrence Lewis, her adopted father's new secretary and favorite nephew—one of his sister Betty's numerous family.

The wedding was solemnized at Mount Vernon, practically all Virginia society—as well as friends from other States—being present at the ceremony. Official authority for the marriage of the two young people whom he loved had been given by General Washington:

"To George Deneale:
"Sir,
You will please to grant a license for the marriage of Eleanor Parke Custis with Lawrence Lewis, and this shall be your authority for so doing.
"From, Sir,
"Your very humble servant,
"G. Washington.

"Witnesses:
"Thomas Peter
"George W. P. Custis."

Washington's wedding present to the bride was a harpsichord which cost one thousand dollars—a truly royal gift in those days.[2] To the bridal pair, jointly, he gave, condi-

[1] See illustrations and facsimile of excerpt from testimonial on page 330. Captain Truxtun, who never lost a sea battle, died in Philadelphia in 1822. The frigate *Constellation*, one of the oldest—if not *the* oldest—ships in the world, is now moored at the United States Naval Training Station, Newport, Rhode Island.

[2] This harpsichord is now at Mount Vernon.

tionally, a farm of one thousand acres adjoining Mount Vernon, upon which the family home was to be built.[1] The condition was that, if the couple were good, the farm should ultimately be theirs; otherwise the donor or his estate would recover the farm, paying for such improvements as

1. Eleanor Parke Custis.
2. Miniature of Eleanor Parke Custis as a bride. *By Thomas Sully.*

had been made thereon. Evidently the newlyweds were "good"; for the farm was duly recorded to the Lewises within the year.[2]

[1] This is the farm known as Woodlawn. Privately owned, it is to-day in splendid condition, retaining all of its original beauty.

[2] The Lewises passed all of their married life at Woodlawn, and under its roof were born their four children: Agnes, who died in youth; Frances Parke Custis, who married General E. G. W. Butler; Lorenzo, who married Esther Maria Coxe of Philadelphia; and Eleanor Angelo, who married the Hon. C. M. Conrad, of Louisiana.

Major Lawrence Lewis, husband of Nelly Custis, died November 20, 1839; Nelly Custis Lewis died July 15, 1852, in the seventy-fourth year of her age. She was buried from the parlor at Mount Vernon—the same room in which she was married more than fifty years before.

After the wedding Washington wrote to his friend and former comrade-in-arms, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney:

> "Mr. Lewis and Nelly Custis fulfilled their matrimonial engagement the 22nd of February. In consequence, the former, having relinquished the lap of Mars for the sports of Venus, has declined a military appointment."

Legends for illustrations on page 335:

1. Lawrence, half brother of George Washington.
2. George Washington.
3. Samuel Washington.
4. Charles Washington.
5. Elizabeth (Betty) Washington.
6. John Augustine Washington.

CHAPTER XXXIX

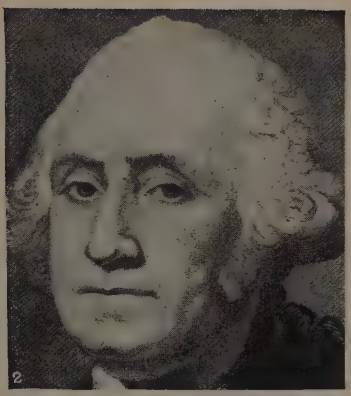
THE CLOSING SCENES IN A GREAT DRAMA. DEATH DROPS THE CURTAIN ON A SPLENDID LIFE. DARK DAYS AT MOUNT VERNON. MARTHA WASHINGTON, INCOMPARABLE WIFE, COMPANION AND FRIEND

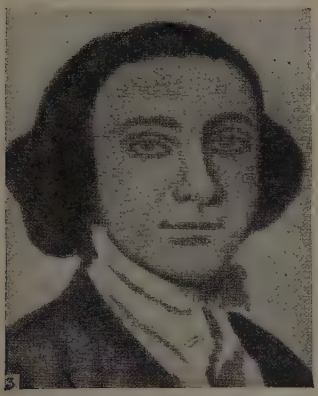
THE LAST year of Washington's life has been briefly but affectionately outlined by Nelly Custis Lewis, who has left for posterity the pathetic picture of the great Commander as "constantly thoughtful and silent,

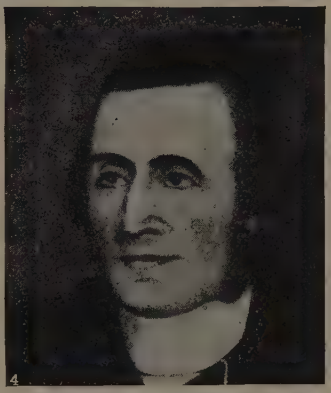
1. Nelly Custis, as maiden fair, heart-free.
2. De Brehan miniature of Nelly Custis. *Courtesy of Mrs. F. T. Moorhead.*

with lips moving, brain unimpaired."[1] Washington's far-seeing eyes were already looking into the shadows beyond

[1] It may have been about this time—it was certainly within the last years of Washington's life—that Nelly Custis sketched on the wall at Mount Vernon







Portraits of five of the six Washington brothers and their sister Betty. There is no existing portrait of Augustine. (*See page 333.*)

the boundary; actuating the moving lips were the weighty thoughts, the stirring deeds, of fifty strenuous years.

In the early autumn of 1799 Charles Washington—the last of the General's brothers—passed away.[2] His sister Betty had gone before. The letter which he wrote to his cousin, Colonel Burgess Ball, who had apprised him of his brother's death, affords a touching glimpse of his saddened heart:

"Mount Vernon, 22d Sepr, 1799

"Dear Sir,

"Your letter of the 16th inst. has been received, informing me of the death of my brother.

"The death of near relatives always produces awful and affecting emotions, under whatsoever circumstances it may happen. That of my brother's has been so long expected,—and his latter days, so uncomfortable to himself, must have prepared all around him for the stroke, though painful in the effect.

"I was the *first*, and am now the *last*, of my father's children by the second marriage who remain. When I shall be called upon to follow them, is known only to the giver of life. When the summons comes, I shall endeavor to obey it with a good grace.

"Mrs. Washington has been, and still is, very much indisposed; but unites with me in best wishes for you, Mrs. Ball and family. With great esteem and regard,

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your affecte servt,

"G. Washington.

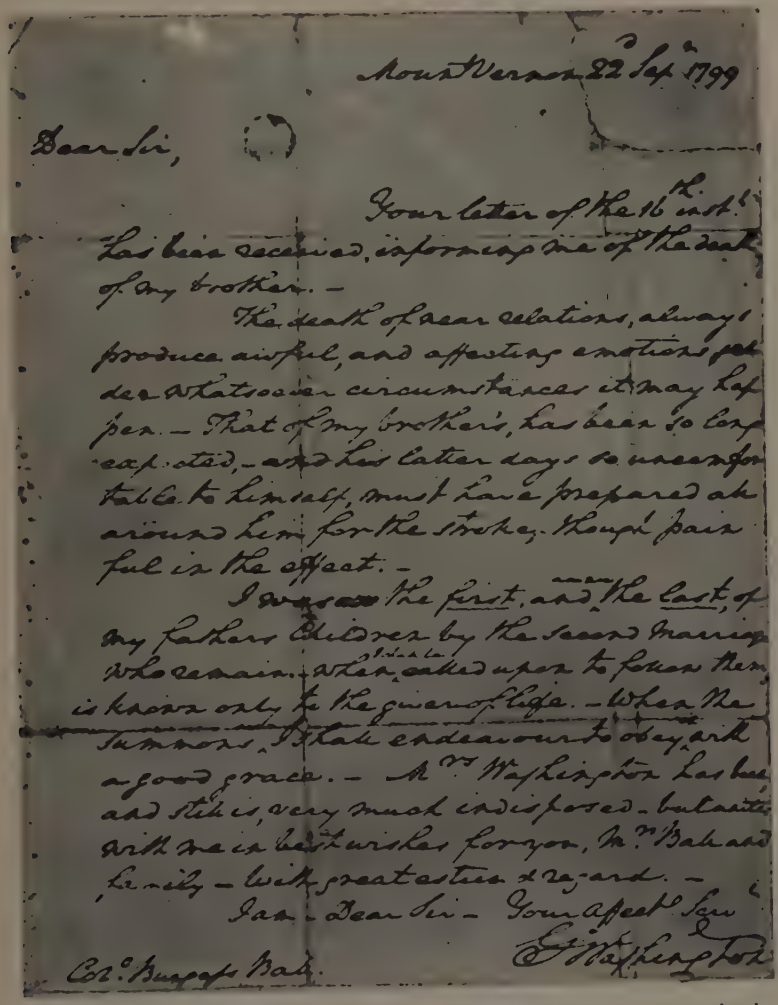
"Col. Burgess Ball."

the interesting shadow portraits of her foster-parents shown on page 000. As in all silhouettes, the absence of lines and high lights adds apparent fullness to the profile. The authenticated indorsement accompanying these portraits indicates that they were presented to Elizabeth Bordley Gibson by Nelly Custis Lewis at the latter's home, Woodlawn, in July, 1832.

[2] Washington's favorite brother, John Augustine, had died twelve years before. On the tenth of January, 1787, Washington wrote in his diary:

"I received by express the account of the sudden death, by a fit of gout in the head, of my beloved brother, Colonel John Augustine Washington."

Washington had never feared death, though the wings of the Dark Angel had brushed him more than once. During an attack of anthrax so malignant as to threaten gangrene, when his physician had feared for the outcome,



Mount Vernon 22 Sept. 1799

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 16th inst. has been received, informing me of the death of my brother. –

The death of near relations, always produce awful, and affecting emotions, yet dear whatsoever circumstances it may happen. – That of my brother's, has been so long expected, – and his latter days so uncomfortable to himself, must have prepared all around him for the stroke, though painful in the effect. –

I was the first, and the last, of my fathers children by the second marriage who remain, when called upon to follow them, is known only to the giver of life. – When the summons, shall endeavour to obey, with a good grace. – Mrs Washington has been, and still is, very much indisposed – but joins with me in best wishes for you, Mrs Ball and family – with great esteem & regard. –

I am – Dear Sir – Your affect. Servt

G. Washington

Col. Burgess Ball.

Letter from Washington to Col. Ball, two months prior to his own death, referring to the death of his brother Charles.

Washington had inquired if death were near. The doctor made a guarded reply; whereupon Washington observed, with unruffled composure:

"Whether to-night or twenty years hence makes no difference."

Two sharp attacks of illness, which had left him with enfeebled powers of resistance, had probably turned Washington's thoughts on the uncertainty of life. His brother's death had deepened the sombre hue of his reflections. Nevertheless, he went about his usual occupations, made daily entries in his diary and received the visits of his friends. Dr. Craik, his physician and friend for many years, occasionally came and stayed at Mount Vernon overnight. An entry in Washington's diary for November 1, 1799, records that

"Mr. Craik went away after breakfast."

Although the General was in fairly good health at this time,[1] he had withdrawn as far as possible from participation in public affairs. On the twelfth of November, 1799—one month before his summons from the Unknown—he wrote to friends in Alexandria:

"Gentlemen:—

"Mrs. Washington and myself have been honored with your polite invitation to the Assemblies of Alexandria this winter, and thank you for this mark of attention; but, alas! our dancing days are no more . . ."

[1] Always ahead, rather than behind, time, Washington, Dec. 10, 1799, only three days before his death, sent the following advertisement to Alexandria papers; asking that

"Claims of every kind and nature whatsoever against me be brought to you by the first of January, that I may wipe them off and begin anew. All balances in my favor must either be received or reduced to specialties, that there may be no dispute hereafter."

His handwriting, even the day before his death (see facsimile of excerpt from diary on page 341), was still vigorous.

Christmas Eve at Mount Vernon. © *J. L. G. Ferris.*

It has been recorded in a previous chapter that General Washington was present at a banquet in Alexandria in that same month of November, when he reviewed the local troops. That was his last appearance in public.

Winter had now set in, and although it was a Southern winter the weather was sometimes cold, with snow, hail and sleet accompanying the penetrating winds. On the twelfth of December, 1799, Washington wrote in his diary:

> "Morning cloudy. Wind at N. E. and Mer. 33. A large circle round the moon last night. About 10 o'clock it began to snow, soon after to hail, and then turned to a settled cold rain. Mer. 28 at night."

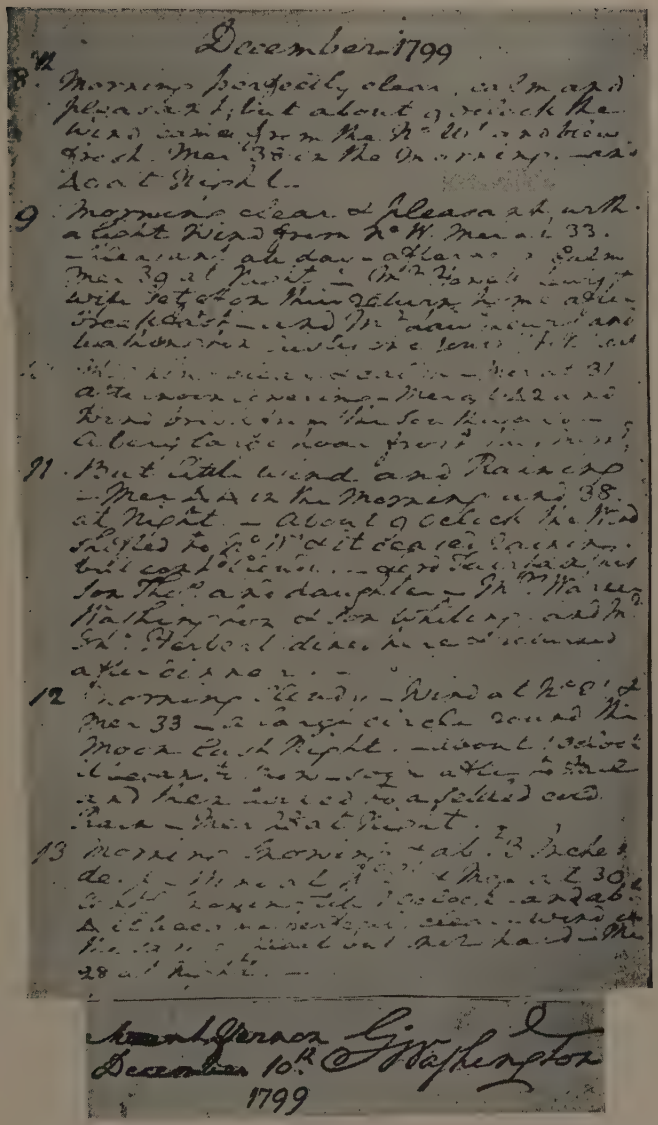
He omitted to add that he had braved the storm in order to ride over his plantations to mark trees for cutting. He remained out of doors in the snow, hail and rain for several hours, and on his return dined without changing his clothes. On the following day he remained indoors, his throat being painfully sore. That night, Friday, December 13, he made the customary entry in his diary, still without referring to his indisposition:

> "Morning snowing, and about three inches deep. Wind at N. E. and Mer. at 30. Cards. Snowing till 1 o'clock, and about 4 it became perfectly clear. Wind in the same place, but not hard. Mer. 28 at night."[1]

Those were the last words that Washington ever penned. It was midnight when he retired to his room. Replying to his wife's anxious comment, he said:

"I came as soon as my business was accomplished. You well know that through a long life it has been my unvaried rule never to put off till to-morrow the duties which should be performed to-day."

[1] See page 341 for facsimile.



December 1799

Washington's last writing on December thirteenth. He died the fourteenth.

Washington's last signature, December tenth, 1799.

During the night he was seized with an ague, but would not allow Mrs. Washington to summon aid, fearing that she would suffer if she got up in the cold. In the morning he insisted on being bled, and the overseer was sent for, who drew a pint of blood. It was then that Colonel Tobias Lear, Washington's confidential secretary, becoming anxious, summoned medical aid. Three physicians answered the summons, — Doctors Craik,[1] Dick and Brown, — and, in accordance with the senseless custom of the period, the bleeding operation was thrice repeated. Thus the General lost within a few hours, more than a quart of the precious life fluid that could so ill be spared. Dr. Dick appears to have been the only one of the three doctors averse to the bleeding; but he yielded to the others' arguments. His colleagues afterward admitted that in the General's case this treatment was an error; but it was the generally approved method of applying "first aid" in those times, and few—if any—doctors knew of anything better.

As the day passed into evening, Washington, growing rapidly weaker, knew that death was approaching. Turning to Dr. Craik, he said:

"I am dying, Sir, but am not afraid to die."

He calmly felt his own pulse in his methodical way, that he might gauge as nearly as possible the probable moment of dissolution. His mind was perfectly clear. Calling his wife, he said to her:

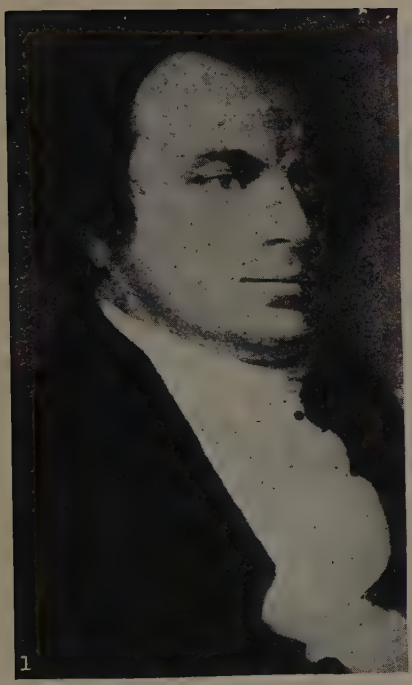
"Go to my desk. In the private drawer you will find two papers. Bring them to me."

[1] Of Dr. Craik, who had been his personal physician for many years, Washington once wrote:

> "If ever I should have occasion for physician or surgeon, I should prefer my old surgeon, Dr. Craik, who, from forty years' experience, is better qualified than a dozen of them put together."

Probably Dr. Craik was as skillful as the average physician of the eighteenth century; but he adhered to the old system of therapeutics and concurred in the treatment that unquestionably hastened the General's death.

Washington's illness was supposed at the time to be quinsy. It was probably complicated by pneumonia.



1. Dr. Elisha Dick. 2. Dr. James Craik.
3. Profile of Dr. Craik. 4. Dr. Gustavus Brown.
5. Profile of Dr. Dick.

© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

Martha Washington. *Chappel.*

1. Death of Washington. 2. Bed on which he died.
3. Clock stopped at 10:20 P.M. © *Alexandria-Washington Lodge 22 — A.F. & A.M*

Silently she obeyed. When she returned and handed him the documents, he said, briefly:

"These are my wills. Preserve this, and burn the other."

This was done. He added:

"Let my corpse be kept for the usual period of three days."

A little later he asked the time.

"A few moments to ten," was the reply.

He made no comment, but quietly folded his arms. He never spoke again. At twenty minutes past ten Washington's dauntless spirit silently left his body.

On the instant Dr. Dick walked over to the clock and cut the catgut suspending the pendulum. It stopped immediately, leaving the hands marking the moment of death—10.20.[1]

Dr. Craik was bending over the General's lifeless body. As he stood erect, confirming the fact that all was over, the newly made widow, who had been sitting at the foot of the bed, rose from her chair, saying:

"I shall follow him. I have no more trials to pass through."

It was one of the tragedies of her widowhood that in her hour of bitter need Martha Washington had no kinsfolk near to comfort her. Both of her adopted children were absent. Nelly Custis Lewis was ill and unable to come to her; George Washington Custis was away at school. Colonel Lear, true friend and capable manager, took charge of affairs, making the funeral arrangements and notifying relatives, friends and State officials of the General's sudden passing.

Colonel Lear's letter to the president of Congress, announcing the great Commander's death, is concise and informative:

"Mt. Vernon, December 15, 1799

"Sir:

"It is with inexpressible grief that I have to announce to you the death of that great and good General Washington. He died last evening between 10 and 11 o'clock, after a short illness of about twenty-four hours.

[1] For many years makers of dummy clocks painted the hour and minute hands as pointing to the time of Washington's death—10.20.

His disorder was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a cold of which he made but little complaint Friday. On Saturday morning about three o'clock he became ill. Dr. Dick attended him in the morning, and Dr. Craik of Alexandria and Dr. Brown of Port Tobacco was soon after called in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect.

"His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan or a complaint escaped him in extreme distress. With perfect resignation, and in full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life.

"I have the honor to be, etc.

"Tobias Lear."

An entry in Lear's diary, under the same date, records that:

"Mrs. Washington sent for me in the morning and desired I would send up to Alexa. and have a coffin made, which I did. Dr. Dick measured the body, which[1] was as follows:

"In length 6 ft. 3½ inches exact.
"Across shoulders 1 ft. 9 inches.
"Across elbows 2 ft. 1 inch.

"After breakfast I gave Dr. Dick and Dr. Brown forty dolls. each, which sum Dr. Craik advised as very proper, and they left us.

"I wrote letters to . . . informing them of the melancholy event."

In accordance with Washington's last command, the funeral took place three days after his death. It was strictly a home funeral, quiet and unostentatious; a Masonic funeral, as Washington wanted it to be,[2] the burial service being

[1] The mahogany coffin was lined with lead and soldered at the joints. A cover of lead was soldered on after placing the body in the coffin, the whole being then put into a case lined and covered with black cloth.

[2] A Masonic banner carried at the funeral bore the inscription:

"WASHINGTON IN GLORY; AMERICA IN TEARS."

that of the Episcopal Church, in which he had been baptized and of which he had remained a lifelong member. The casket stood on its draped bier on the wide veranda fronting the Potomac; and here, in the clear December day, the great General lay in state, surrounded by the peaceful scenes that had ever been dear to his heart. Hither came the friends and neighbors who had known and loved him throughout his colorful and splendid life, to look for the

Funeral of Washington at Mt. Vernon. © *Harper Bros.*

last time on the Master of Mount Vernon and offer him the final tribute of their sorrowful hearts. His "people," to whom he had been, in truth, as "the shadow of a rock in a weary land," mourned him with the emotional fervor of their race. It was an uncertain future that lay before them. The passing of a good and kind master was a tragedy in the life of a slave.

With his usual foresight, Washington had built his family tomb long before, planning its location with care and putting into its construction the best materials and workmanship. To this tomb his body was borne in a cortège

that, lacking as it was in display, nevertheless surpassed in dignity and simple grandeur any state funèral that America has ever witnessed. Four white-robed clergymen led the procession, followed by the General's riderless horse, led by a faithful attendant. Then an escort of officers and

Washington's funeral cortège, at Mount Vernon.

Masons, preceding the coffin. The eight pall-bearers were officers of the Revolutionary War and prominent Masons. Foot and horse guards from near-by Alexandria, including the Independent Blues,[1] formed a guard of honor. Men of high and low degree followed the body of Washington to

[1] The troops which the General had reviewed only a month before. Alexandria, the town with the development of which Washington had much to do, was fairly aghast at the passing of its benefactor, who was looked upon as a leading citizen, so frequently was he there.

the tomb, while his weeping "people" formed a sombre rear guard.[1]

The ceremony at the tomb was brief, but impressive. The Reverend Mr. Davis performed the Masonic rite; and while the solemn committal service was being said—"Earth to earth, dust to dust, ashes to ashes"—Martha Washington—the General's devoted wife, companion and friend; sharer of his joys, consoler in his sorrows—sat alone with her grief,

Masonic rites over Washington at the tomb.

in the deserted room that had been the scene of so many brilliant gatherings in the days forever gone.[2]

Life—as one regards life—actually ended for Martha Washington with the General's passing. She never again

[1] Strangely enough, there were few blood relatives present. The suddenness of the General's death prevented those at a distance from attending, and—as previously explained—both of his adopted children were absent.

[2] Robert Hamilton's schooner, anchored in the Potomac, fired minute guns during the obsequies, while reverberating echoes symbolized a nation's grief.

Napoleon draped his battle flags in mourning when informed of General Washington's death.

The British naval commander, Admiral Cockburn, when he sailed up the Potomac in the War of 1812, paused before the home and tomb of Washington to fire the Presidential salute; then, turning his ship's prow toward the city of Washington, wreaked vengeance on the halls of Congress and the Executive Mansion. The excuse offered for this vandalism was "retaliation for the burning of Kingston, Jamaica (W. I.), by Americans in the previous year."

Views of Washington's first tomb, showing changes in arboreal growth.

occupied the room which had been her husband's and her own.[1] Instead, she took a small attic room, cheerless and unheated, with sloping ceiling and a single window. From the latter the desolate widow could see the tomb of her beloved General; and here in her age and loneliness, she kept vigil for the twenty-nine months that remained to her after his departure. For her, life was definitely finished;

Martha Washington watching the tomb of her husband from her attic room. © *Harper Bros.*

she was but waiting for the day of her call. In giving instructions for her husband's funeral, the widow directed that the door of his tomb be placed on hinges, that it might be easily opened to receive her own remains.[2] A little more

[1] In the old South it was a frequent custom to close the room for a period of two years after the occupant's death.

[2] It was a plan which resulted in the supposed attempt of an unknown ghoul to steal the General's body. When it was discovered that marauders had been in the tomb,—without, however, succeeding in their nefarious designs,—precautions were immediately taken against a repetition of the offense.

than two years later—on the twenty-fourth of May, 1802—the event she had so fervently anticipated came to pass, and all that was mortal of Martha Washington was laid to rest beside her dead.[1]

Perhaps no higher tribute can be paid to Martha Washington than to say of her that she was a woman of sterling character, and marked individuality. Dowered with a kindly

1. Martha Washington.

2. The Peale Portrait.

[1] A compact was made by Mrs. Washington with the United States Government, permitting the removal of General Washington's body to the Capitol for its final sepulture; and her death-bed injunction to her grandson, George Washington Parke Custis, was:

"Remember, Washington, to have my remains placed in a leaden coffin, that they may be removed with those of the General at the command of the Government."

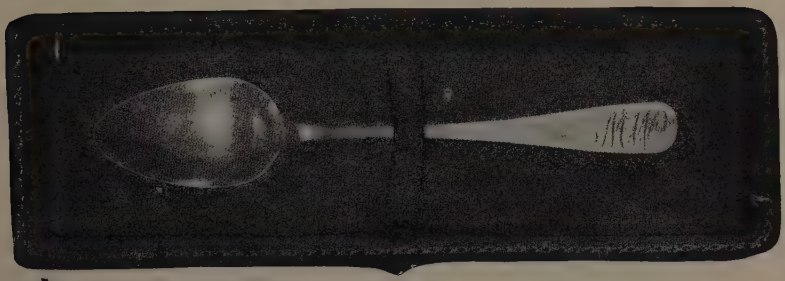
President Monroe had a crypt built under the dome of the Capitol (see illustration—here reproduced for the first time—on page 360) for the ultimate reception of Washington's body; but it was never utilized. It seems more in accordance with Washington's own feeling that he should lie in his native State, within the borders of his beloved Mount Vernon.

The remains of the great Commander, with those of his wife, were finally removed in 1837 to the new tomb, which General Washington had located and planned many years before; and there they now rest. The present sepulchre has often been criticized, as being inappropriate for so august a personage as the great Washington; and far less impressive and less secure than a mausoleum.

heart, an attractive personality, and keen intelligence, she brought into George Washington's life a peace and happiness

Martha Washington. Painted by J. W. Jarvis in 1801 and presented by Martha Washington to George Washington Parke Custis before her death.

that he could never have known with a woman of more aggressive type. She was the ideal helpmeet for a strong man who was destined to become a great one; the "agreeable

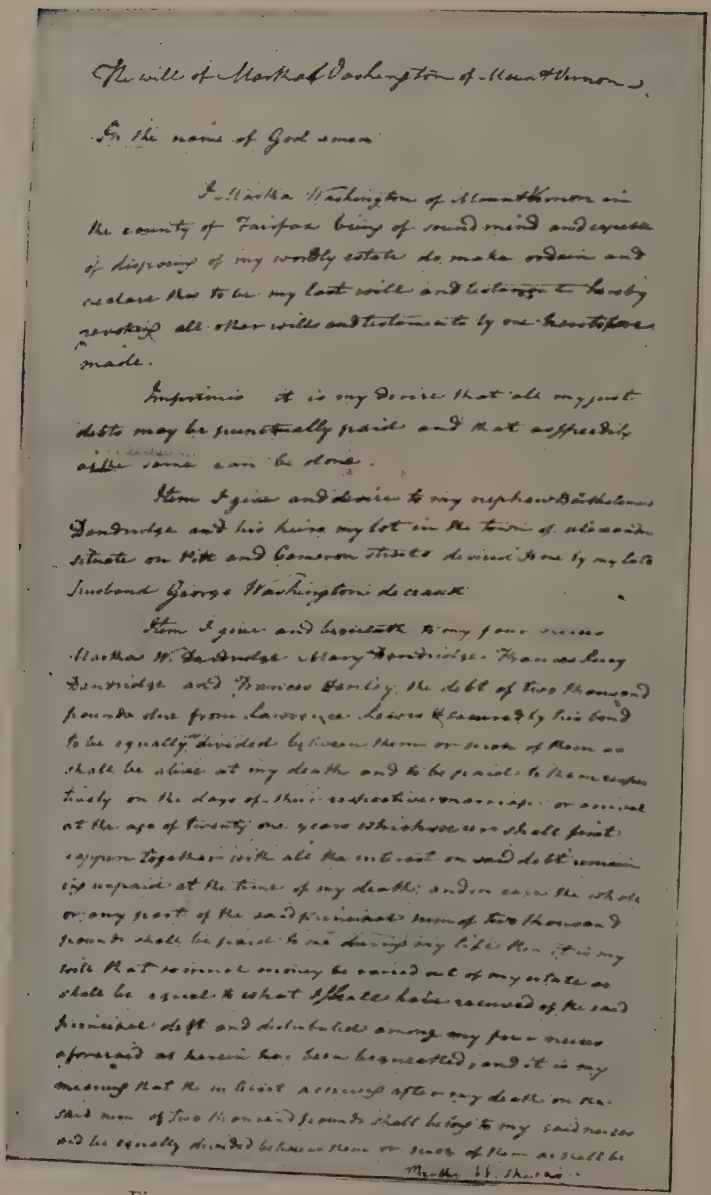


1

2

1. Martha Washington's initialed spoon.
2. Martha Washington's purse.

© *W. Lanier Washington, N. Y.*



The will of Martha Washington of Mount Vernon.

In the name of God amen

I Martha Washington of Mount Vernon in the county of Fairfax being of sound mind and capable of disposing of my worldly estate do make ordain and declare this to be my last will and testament hereby revoking all other wills and testaments by me heretofore made.

Imprimis it is my desire that all my just debts may be punctually paid and that as speedily after some can be done.

Item I give and devise to my nephew Bathurst Dandridge and his heirs my lot in the town of Alexandria situate on Pitt and Cameron streets devised to me by my late husband George Washington deceased.

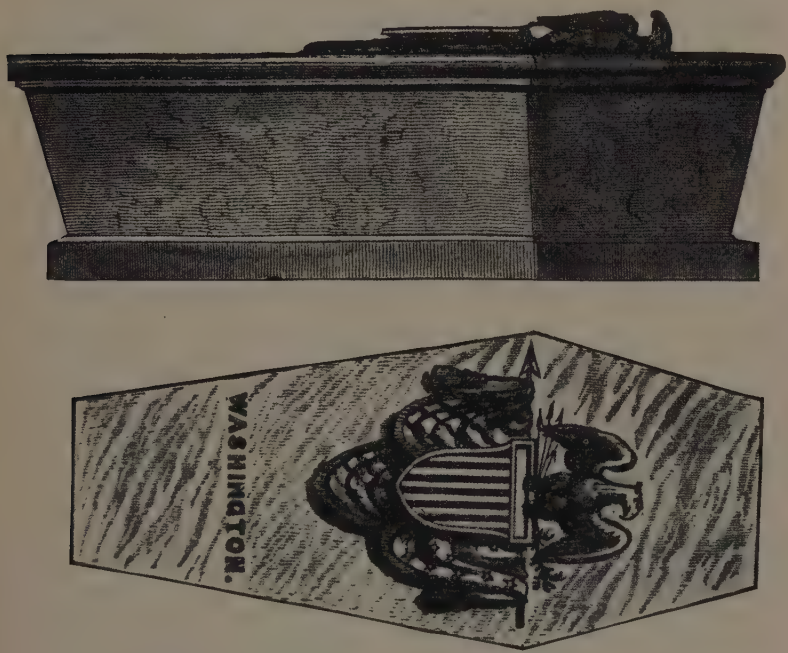
Item I give and bequeath to my four nieces Martha W. Dandridge Mary Dandridge Frances Lucy Dandridge and Frances Henley the debt of two thousand pounds due from Lawrence Lewis & Eleanor by his bond to be equally divided between them or such of them as shall be alive at my death and to be paid to the respectively on the days of their respective marriages or arrival at the age of twenty one years whichever shall first happen together with all the interest on said debt remaining unpaid at the time of my death; and in case the whole or any part of the said principal sum of two thousand pounds shall be paid to me during my life then it is my will that so much money be raised out of my estate as shall be equal to what I shall have received of the said principal debt and distributed among my four nieces aforesaid as herein has been bequeathed, and it is my meaning that the interest accruing after my death on the said sum of two thousand pounds shall belong to my said nieces and be equally divided between them or such of them as shall be

Martha W. Washington

First page of Martha Washington's will.

partner" of whom he spoke so fondly, and who could perform the amazing miracle of maintaining her own individuality while helping her husband to scale the heights of Success.

As "First Lady of the Land" Mrs. Washington won the respect and admiration of all who came within the circle



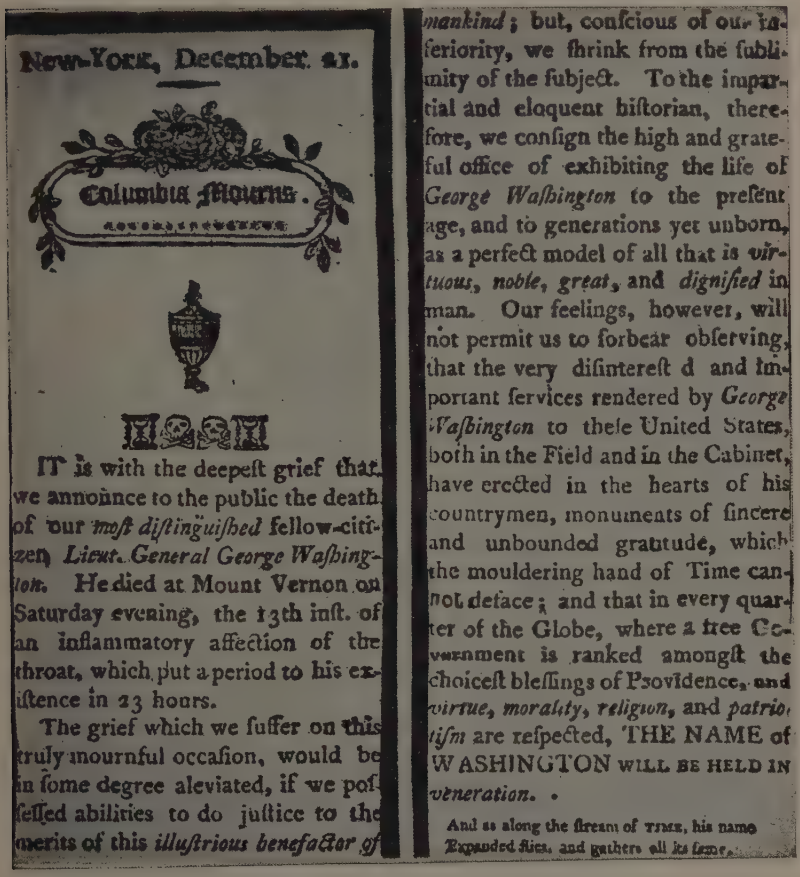
Casket in which Washington's remains were first buried.

of her influence. Though short of stature, she had dignity and poise; and while public life was distateful, she was so kindly, tactful and discreet that none but her intimates—and few of those—could suspect that her heart was ever longing for the home in Virginia. She always referred to those days of her public life—as mistress of the Presidential Mansion, first in New York, and afterward in Philadelphia—as "lost days"; for in those days the stabilizing and

Views of the old and new tomb, June 17, 1923.

peace-engendering habits of her regular life were, to a large extent, broken.

In her private life Martha Washington was a model housewife, as she was also a strict disciplinarian—with



New-York, December 21.

Columbia Mourns.

IT is with the deepest grief that we announce to the public the death of our *most distinguished* fellow-citizen *Lieut. General George Washington.* He died at Mount Vernon on Saturday evening, the 13th inst. of an inflammatory affection of the throat, which put a period to his existence in 23 hours.

The grief which we suffer on this truly mournful occasion, would be in some degree aleviated, if we possessed abilities to do justice to the merits of this *illustrious benefactor of mankind*; but, conscious of our inferiority, we shrink from the sublimity of the subject. To the impartial and eloquent historian, therefore, we consign the high and grateful office of exhibiting the life of *George Washington* to the present age, and to generations yet unborn, as a perfect model of all that is *virtuous, noble, great,* and *dignified* in man. Our feelings, however, will not permit us to forbear observing, that the very disinterest d and important services rendered by *George Washington* to these United States, both in the Field and in the Cabinet, have erected in the hearts of his countrymen, monuments of sincere and unbounded gratitude, which the mouldering hand of Time cannot deface; and that in every quarter of the Globe, where a free Government is ranked amongst the choicest blessings of Providence, and *virtue, morality, religion,* and *patriotism* are respected, THE NAME of WASHINGTON WILL BE HELD IN *veneration.*

And as along the stream of TIME, his name
Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame.

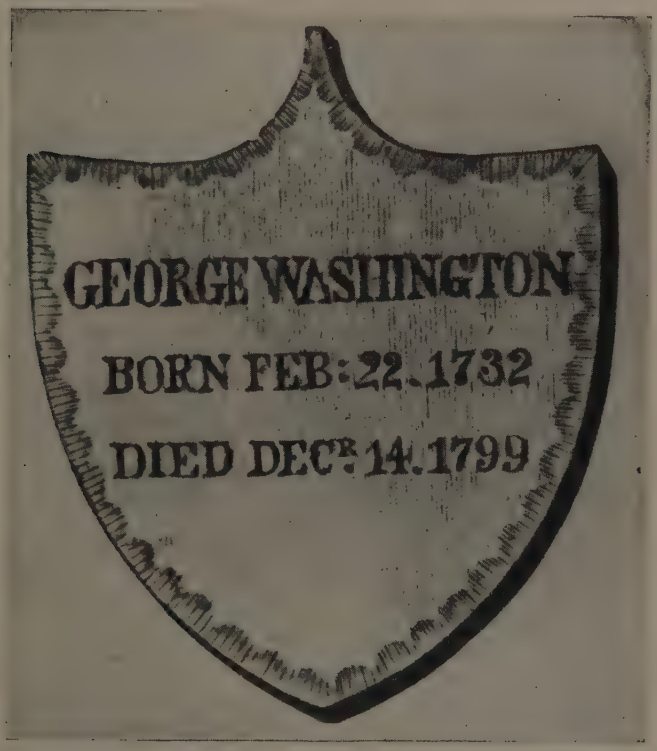
Newspaper tribute, December 21, 1799.

her children, as with her servants. Active and efficient, she never shirked her duties, which—in a household such as that of Mount Vernon, with many negroes to oversee, and no modern conveniences whatever—were practically

1. The crypt in the Capitol, where Martha Washington expected to be buried with the President.

2. Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon.

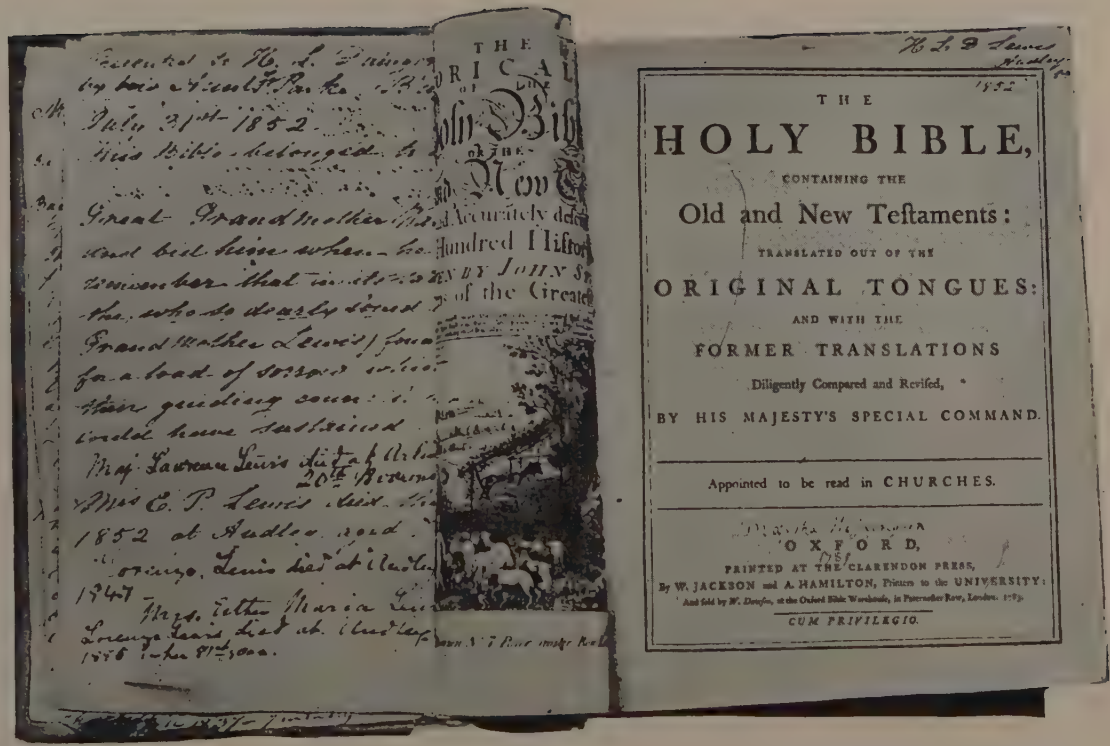
endless. She rose at dawn at all seasons, and—like her husband—entered immediately upon the day's activities. It was her usual custom to make a morning call upon some eighteen or twenty of her negro women, who were occupied



Silver shield on Washington's coffin.

with spinning or sewing for the household.[1] It was her invariable rule, however, to retire to her own room after breakfast, and there to spend an hour in prayer and study of the Bible—a practice which she never omitted, during

[1] The General and Mrs. Washington exacted a definite amount of labor from each of their slaves of working age; but frequently had a good deal of trouble in obtaining it.



THE

HOLY BIBLE,

CONTAINING THE

Old and New Testaments:

TRANSLATED OUT OF THE

ORIGINAL TONGUES:

AND WITH THE

FORMER TRANSLATIONS

Diligently Compared and Revised,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S SPECIAL COMMAND.

Appointed to be read in CHURCHES.

OXFORD,

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS,

By W. JACKSON and A. HAMILTON, Printers to the UNIVERSITY:

CUM PRIVILEGIO.

The Martha Washington autographed Bible read by her each day. Once owned by H. L. D. Lewis, Berryville, Va.

at least half a century of her busy and varied life. Her Bible, which she kept on a table close to her bedside, was her never-failing comforter and friend.[1]

It has been shown in a previous chapter that it was Washington's usual custom to join his wife in her Scriptural readings on the Sabbath—a day which he observed throughout his life with the respect and reverence instilled in his youthful mind by his sternly religious mother. Martha

Washington's coffin plate, removed when the body was placed in the new tomb. *Courtesy of Valley Forge Park Commission.*

Washington, like the General, was an Episcopalian. A regular and devout communicant, she often remained for the communion service when the General did not. Nelly Custis related that:

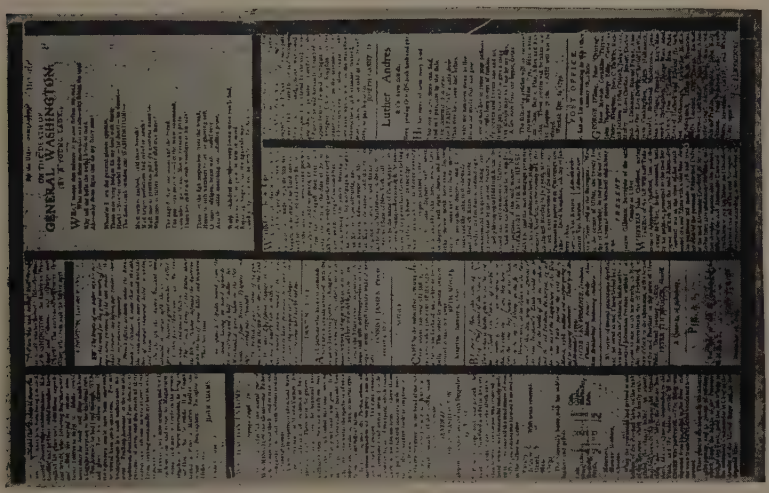
> "Grandfather left church with me after the blessing, but sent the carriage back for grandmother."

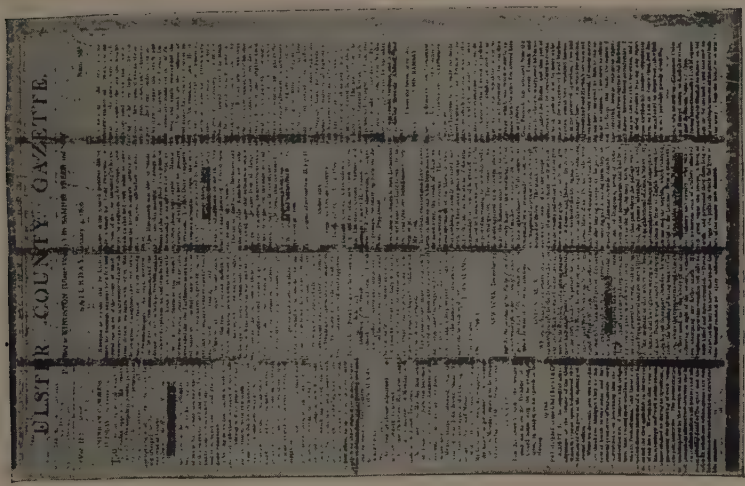
The whole American nation was plunged into grief by the death of Washington. Funeral services were held in the large cities; newspapers were issued with their pages

[1] A photograph of this Bible is reproduced on page 362.

Pageant memorial funeral for Washington in Philadelphia, Pa., where he lived the greater part of his presidential terms.

deeply bordered in black;[1] and an impressive funeral pageant testified to Philadelphia's grief, on the twentieth

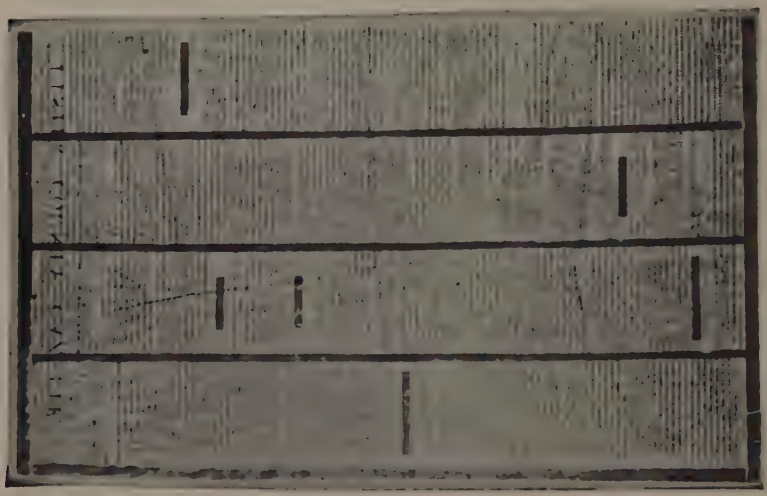


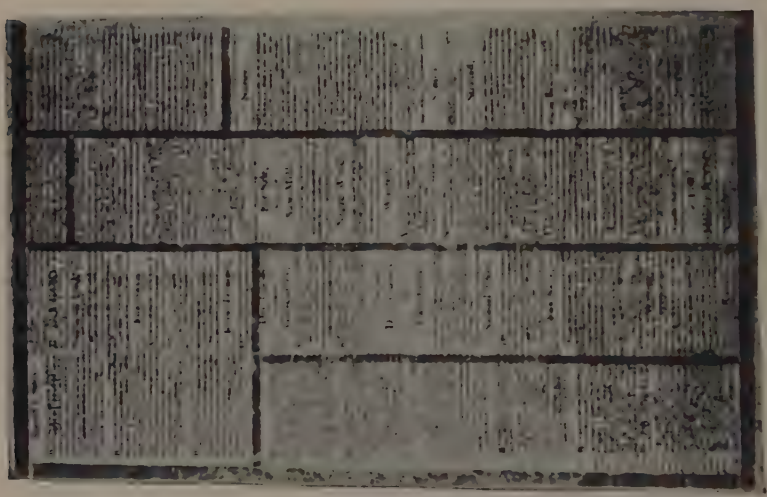


Newspaper articles on Washington's death.

[1] Facsimile pages are shown herewith. For many years following Washington's death grief for his loss and loyalty to his memory found expression in the wearing of mourning brooches, medallions and other ornaments; while artist, novelist and historian still find deep inspiration in his life and work.

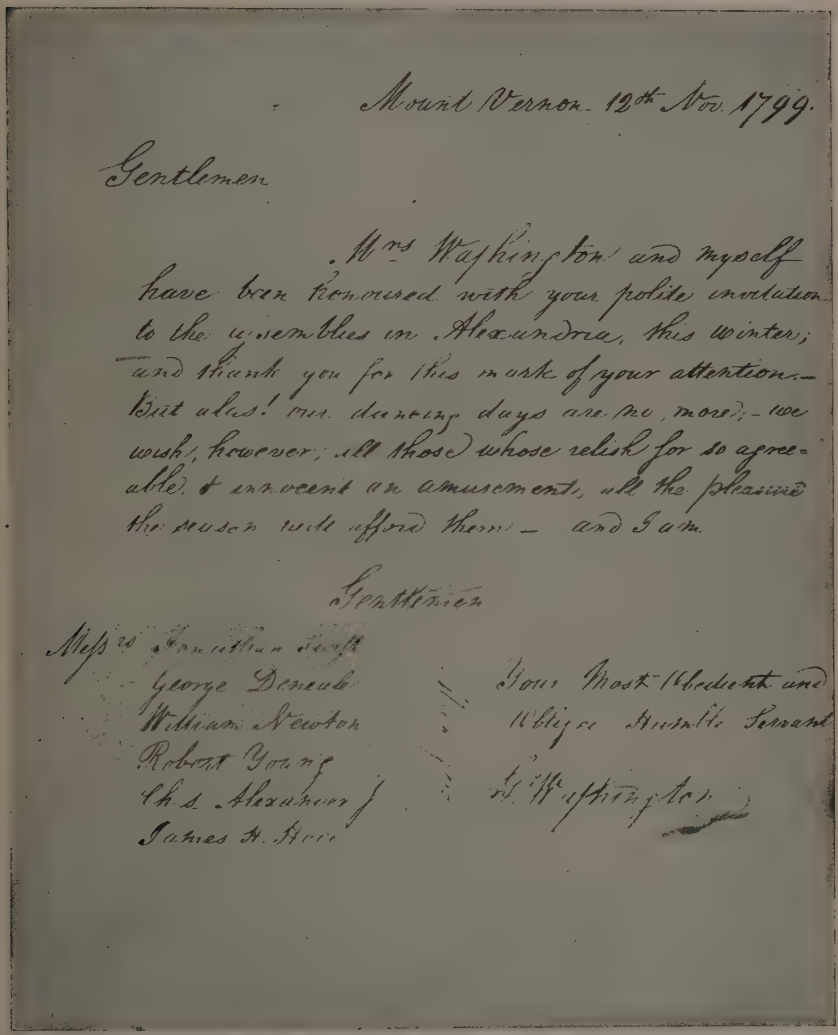
of December, 1799. On New Year's Day, 1800,—the beginning of the new century,—Philadelphia Lodge of Ancient





Newspaper articles on Washington's death.

York Masons held a Memorial Lodge of Sorrow for George Washington, America's most prominent Mason. Upon the recommendation of Congress, the President of the United



Mount Vernon 12th Nov. 1799.

Gentlemen

Mrs Washington and myself have been honoured with your polite invitation to the assemblies in Alexandria, this winter; and thank you for this mark of your attention.— But alas! our dancing days are no more;— we wish, however, all those whose relish for so agreeable & innocent an amusement, all the pleasure the season will afford them — and I am.

Gentlemen

Messrs Jonathan Haight
George Deneale
William Newton
Robert Young
Chas Alexander
James H. Hoe

Your Most Obedient and
Obliged Humble Servant
G. Washington

Washington's last letter. It shows courtesy and sincerity. From the original in the possession of William Patten of Rhinebeck, New York.

A Proclamation.

By the President of the United States of America.

WHEREAS the Congress of the United States have this day Resolved, "That it be Recommended to the People of the United States to assemble on the *twenty-second day of February next*, in such numbers and manner, as may be convenient, publickly to testify their Grief for the Death of Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON, by suitable Eulogies, Orations, and Discourses, or by Public Prayers:" and, "That the President be requested to issue a Proclamation for the purpose of carrying the foregoing Resolution into effect." Now, Therefore, I, JOHN ADAMS, President of the United States of America, do hereby Proclaim the same accordingly.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the United States, in Philadelphia, the fifth day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred, and of the Independence of the said States the twenty-fourth.

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President,

TIMOTHY PICKERING, *Secretary of State.*

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In Senate, January 14, 1800.

RESOLVED, 1st, That an Oration on the Sublime Virtues of Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON be delivered before the *Lieutenant-Governor*, the *Council*, and the two Branches of the *General Court*, in the Old-South-Meeting-House, in *Boston*, [with consent of the Proprietors thereof] by such Person, and at such time, as His Honor the *Lieutenant-Governor*, the *President* of the *Senate* and the *Speaker* of the *House* of *Representatives* shall appoint for that purpose; and that the *Chaplain* of the *General Court* be requested to introduce the Exercises with Prayer to the Throne of Grace.

2d, That the *Lieutenant-Governor*, the *Council*, and the two Branches of the *General Court*, will, in compliance with the Recommendation of Congress, in their Resolve of the 30th of December last, "testify our Grief for the Death of General GEORGE WASHINGTON," by uniting in Public Solemn Worship of the Deity in the Church in Brattle-Street in *Boston*, [with consent of the Proprietors] on *Saturday the twenty-second day of February next*, at eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon, (if the General Court shall then be in Session) and will then bow in humble Adoration and Prayer before the Supreme Disposer of all Events, and to attend upon a Discourse to be adapted to the occasion; that we will suspend our usual business for this purpose; and that the *Chaplain* of the *General Court* be requested to deliver that Discourse, and to lead in the other Religious Exercises of the Day.

AND we have confidence, that our Fellow Citizens, of all denominations, throughout the Commonwealth, will then unite in like Services, so that the whole People, with one Heart and one Voice, may, at the same time, duly express their Sensations on this Mournful Occasion.

Sent down for Concurrence,

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, *President.*

In the House of Representatives, Jan. 14, 1800. Read and Concurred,

EDWARD H. ROBBINS, *Speaker.*

January 14, 1800. By the Lieutenant-Governor Approved,

MOSES GILL.

A True Copy—Attest,

JOHN AVERY, *Secretary.*

Proclamation by the President on the death of George Washington.

Proclamation by the House of Representatives, of Massachusetts, on Washington's death.

States (John Adams) issued a special Proclamation, setting apart Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1800, as a day of public grief, prayer and eulogy.[1] The Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts also passed a Resolution recommending a day of public mourning and prayer; and the same procedure was followed in other States.

"By their fruits ye shall know them" is an appropriate tribute to bring to the most revered tomb in America. Hero worship usually dies a speedy death; for the remembrance of glorious deeds is soon lost in the insistent demands of a living present. But it is not so with George Washington. The principles for which he valiantly stood and so valiantly fought are living to-day, and his glorious memory lives with them.

[1] See page 368. General "Light Horse Harry" Lee was chosen to give Washington's eulogy in Congress; but, owing to his absence, it was read by John Marshall. The now familiar phrase "First in War, First in Peace, First in the Hearts of his Countrymen," incorporated in that address, was originated by General Lee. This eulogy was given in the German Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, to which Congress walked in a body from Independence Hall.

CHAPTER XL

THE MAN, GEORGE WASHINGTON. HOW HE IMPRESSED SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES. HIS PERSONALITY AND RELIGION. HIS MIND A GEM OF MANY FACETS. AN UNWILLING SLAVE-HOLDER. WASHINGTON'S MILITARY GENIUS. TRIBUTES FROM PUBLIC MEN

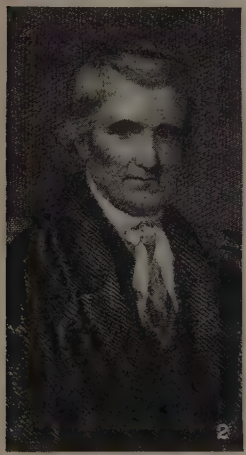
THE MAN, George Washington! Who is qualified to write, in a few necessarily brief sentences, a resumé of a character so unusual, a life so packed with incident, a personality so rare that even in his lifetime it was never fully understood? And his tireless body, his powerful brain, his dauntless heart, have been dust well over a century and a quarter.

Washington's character was written in his life, for his character *was* his life. What great men of his own and later times have said of him is, after all, but the expression of personal opinion, each suffused with the color of its author's thought. Byron expressed his idea in immortal verse:

"Where may the wearied eye repose
When gazing on the great?——
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor despicable state?

"Yes, one—the first, the last, the best;
The Cincinnatus of the West,[1]
Whom envy dared not hate——
Bequeathed the name of Washington,
To make men blush there was but one!"

[1] Washington, like Cincinnatus of olden time, returned from the battle-field to his former pursuit of agriculture.



1. Gouverneur Morris. 2. John Marshall.
3. Lord Henry Erskine.

Lord Henry Erskine, one of Washington's staunch friends and admirers, wrote to Washington in these reverential terms:

> "I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted of men, but you are the only human being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God to grant a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world."

Dr. James Thatcher, a patriot who had enjoyed the honor of dining with General Washington at Middlebrook in 1779, drew a graphic pen portrait of the Commander-in-Chief—and probably a true one:

> "He is feared even when silent, and beloved even when we are unconscious of the motive. In conversation, His Excellency's expressive countenance is peculiarly interesting and pleasing; a placid smile is frequently observed on his lips, but a loud laugh, it is said, seldom escapes him. He is polite and attentive to each individual at table, and retires after the compliment of a few glasses."

Another compatriot said of him:

> "A soldier, a warrior; he is a modest man; sensible, speaks little; in action cool—like a bishop at his prayers."

The General was always reserved in his public life, never permitting familiarity, even among his closest friends. Had he been otherwise he could never have become the great man that he was. The heights are always lonely. As Commander-in-Chief and as President he had few comrades and no intimates. It is recorded that Gouverneur Morris, who had made a wager that he could approach General Washington with familiarity in the presence of others, once touched the General on the shoulder and extended his hand, saying:

"I am glad to see you looking so well, General."

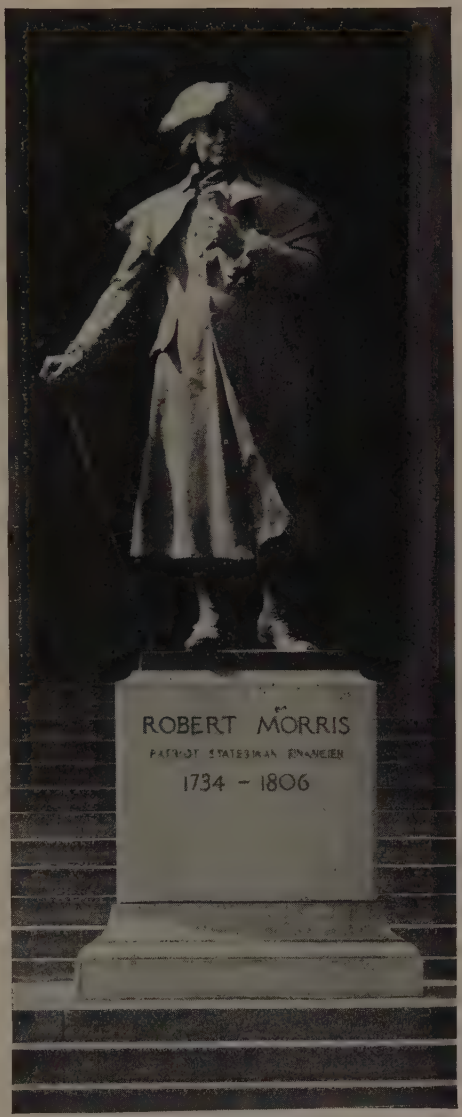
Instantly Washington sensed the motive back of the action. Ignoring the hand, he glanced at Morris with eyes that flashed blue fire and deliberately turned on his heel.[1]

[1] Nevertheless, Gouverneur Morris was a trusted adviser and a sincere patriot. As American representative in France at the time of the French Revolution, he was in the midst of the turmoil that swung American sentiment toward France, when thoughtless legislators nearly succeeded in embroiling America in another war with England. Gouverneur Morris wrote strongly against this attitude in an effort to block disastrous legislation.

Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, who was, personally, deeply attached to Washington, wrote that he rarely felt at ease in his presence. Another true friend, the Honorable John Marshall, observed that he was never entirely free from restraint in Washington's company, so deep an impression of stateliness and dignity did the General's personality convey. And Charles Biddle wrote of him:

> "Washington was a most elegant figure of a man, with so much dignity that no person whatever could take any liberty with him."

All of these impressions, however, relate to Washington in his official aspect. There was another side to the picture. In his family life, and in the social circle, Washington — though generally



Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, Pa.
Paul Bartlett, sculptor.

somewhat reserved — was usually genial. Even when most serious, he was never morose. He unbent perceptibly among the young people of his acquaintance, and — incredible as it seems — is even depicted in Philadelphia family records as "holding his sides" with the laughter that was evoked by the young ladies' amusing chatter. At his receptions, after the first formalities, he greatly enjoyed the gay conversation of the charming girls present. One may doubt the hearty laughter, but one feels intuitively that Washington's own youth had been so arduous, so crowded with grave obligations, that he found this lighter side of life, as evidenced in the young people about him, both novel and stimulating. It is certain that he enjoyed young people's society, and took a keen, if also somewhat serious, interest in their affairs. He was devoted to his step-children, and, later, to his adopted children; while to all the young folk of his family he was a kind and generous benefactor,[1] though he never allowed the closest family ties to tinge his acts with nepotism, as exampled in the following words written to his favorite nephew, Bushrod Washington, to whom he willed Mount Vernon:

> "My political conduct in nominations, even were I uninfluenced by principles, must be exceedingly circumspect and proof against just criticism, for no slip will pass unnoticed that can be improved into a supposed partiality for friends or relations."

Always ready to advise growing youth, Washington in 1790 wrote thus to his nephew George:

> "Every hour misspent is lost forever, and that future years cannot compensate for lost days at this period of your life. This reflection must show the necessity of unremitting application to your studies."

[1] Refer to Vol. I, pages 240–242.

Some of the reasons for Washington's dignified aloofness were, unquestionably, physical. There came a time when laughter was too painful to be frequent. He had suffered torments from his teeth since early middle life, and when most of them had been extracted he suffered additional torments from ill-fitting substitutes. It is said that Paul Revere, who combined engraving and metal founding, made the first set of artificial teeth for General Washington; but, fitting badly and causing much pain and discomfort, they were discarded; another set being then made by a Dr. Greenwood—a dentist in New York— from seahorse ivory.[1] These also caused painful sores, and entirely changed the expression of the General's mouth. Dentistry in the eighteenth century was crude and cruel compared with that of the twentieth.

At no time after Washington adopted the use of artificial teeth could he speak or smile freely and with comfort; and it is not improbable that his occasional appearance of taciturnity was due to this external cause at least as much as to promptings from within; for it is not conducive to conviviality to suffer agonizing pain, nor to go in fear lest one's teeth drop out. A number of the Washington portraits show the ill effects of these artificial teeth, in the strained expression about the mouth and the traces of a wound in the left cheek which came perilously near to a malignant development.

Probably Washington revealed his true self more fully in letters than in demeanor. Although his correspondence was often formal—for the polite language of the day was stilted—there are refreshing glimpses, in many of the letters, of the heart-warmth that guided the pen. Occasionally he signed himself "Affectionately yours"; less frequently,

[1] Mr. I. G. Greenwood, great-grandson of the Dr. Greenwood who was at one time Washington's dentist, has shown these artificial teeth to the author. They are kept in a safe deposit vault in New York City.

"Your affectionate friend"; still less frequently, "Always yours." These instances, however, were rare. One of the choicest outpourings of his inner self occurs in a letter to General Knox—his friend and fellow-soldier of many years—in 1797:

> "Although . . . I have not a wish to mix again in the great world . . . yet I am not without my regrets at parting from (perhaps never more to meet) the few intimates whom I love; among them, be assured, you are one."

His letters to Lafayette are couched in a noticeably different vein from those addressed to many other friends, equally intimate. The Washington revealed in the Knox letter is vastly different from the Washington of this:

> "Such are your ancient bards, who are both the priests and the doorkeepers to the Temple of Fame. . . . And these, my dear Marquis, are no vulgar functions; heroes have made poets, and poets heroes. Alexander the Great is said to have been enraptured with the poems of Homer. . . . Julius Cæsar is well known to have been a man of highly cultivated understanding and taste. . . . The Augustan age is proverbial. In it the harvest of laurels and bays was wonderfully mingled. . . . The age of your Louis XIV, which produced a multitude of great poets and great captains, will never be forgotten; nor will that of Queen Anne . . . for the same cause."

The solution of the problem—if problem there be—is that Washington's mind was a gem of many facets, each giving out a lustre peculiarly its own.

Washington was a member of the Episcopal Church, a vestryman, and a personage of considerable importance in church affairs in his neighborhood. But, although he was a

thorough-going churchman, he was not a bigot.[1] He went to one church as readily as to another. If an Episcopal church were not accessible, he attended any that happened to be near.

Washington's nature was deeply reverent; religion was essentially a matter of his inner life and consciousness; and church attendance was merely "the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace"—which was the full measure of his Christianity. It was not necessarily regular; was, indeed, more or less infrequent; but its infrequency could not be taken to denote indifference—still less an irreligious trend of mind. From his diary we learn that in 1760 Washington went to church sixteen times; in 1768, fourteen times. During his Presidency he attended church regularly; in New York, at old St. Paul's, on Broadway; in Philadelphia, at Christ Church. At various times, in the course of his travels, he visited other churches; among them Christ Church (the Old North), on Salem Street, Boston—one of the oldest churches in the United States; and King's Chapel, on Tremont Street at the corner of School Street, Boston.

Excerpts quoted in these pages from Washington's writings breathe faith and trust in a Higher Power. Upon one occasion he wrote:

> "The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this that he must be worse than infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations."

[1] For example, an entry in his diary for May 26, 1787, records that he "went to the Romish church, St. Mary's, Fourth, above Spruce Street (Philadelphia), to High Mass." That was when he was in the Quaker City for the Constitutional Convention.

General Washington, with his wife and adopted children, attended the consecration of the new Trinity Church in New York (in Broadway at the head of Wall Street); although, as already mentioned, the family regularly attended St. Paul's when in New York.

All movements that tended to ennoble the individual life and promote the well-being of people found favor with Washington. To the Moravian Church at Salem, North Carolina, he wrote:

> "From a society whose governing principles are industry and love of order, much may be expected toward the improvement and prosperity of the country in which their settlements are found, and experience authorizes the belief that much will be obtained."

He expressed approval of Lady Huntington's project to civilize and Christianize the Indians, saying:

"Her Ladyship has spoken so feelingly and sensibly on the religious and benevolent purposes of the plan, that no language of which I am possessed can add aught to enforce her observations."

At Newburgh, in 1783, he had inserted the following in his Orderly Book:

> "The regularity and decorum with which Divine Service is performed every Sunday will reflect great credit on the Army in general, tend to improve the morals, and at the same time increase the happiness of the soldiery."[1]

Although Washington did not present himself very frequently for Communion, it is an established fact that he was an occasional communicant. But in this, too, he was broader than his Church; for it is recorded that when at Morristown Headquarters he requested the privilege of taking Communion in the Presbyterian Church; to which the pastor—Dr. Jones—replied:

> "Certainly, General; this is not the Presbyterian table, but the Lord's Table."

[1] In 1783, when he received word of the cessation of hostilities, he called upon the Army chaplains to render thanks to God for His mercies, "particularly for His over-ruling the wrath of man to His glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations."

True as steel where he gave his friendship, Washington was often wounded by the defection of those whom he trusted; in fact, during his most strenuous years, there were comparatively few whom he could really trust.[1] In those "days that tried men's souls" many friendships were sacrificed on the altar of Liberty. Some comrades of Washington's young manhood remained on the Tory side—and so parted company with him. Jonathan Boucher was one of these; Roger Morris was another. Thomas Paine,[2] who was at one time a friend, later publicly joined the ranks of Washington's detractors, describing him as "treacherous in private friendships and a hypocrite in public life." Even men who, in their hearts, admired him were often jealous of him. Genius lends a shining mark for the hurling of stones by those with lesser gifts—or no gifts at all.[3]

[1] Among the sterling friends who stood all tests was Tench Tilghman, an aide-de-camp on Washington's staff during the war. It was Tilghman whom the General selected to carry the news of Cornwallis' surrender to Congress. When Tilghman died, Washington was deeply affected, and wrote to the young man's father in eulogistic terms. A letter written to Tilghman by the General in 1783 indicates the high quality of his regard:

> "I receive with great sensibility and pleasure your assurance of affection. . . . There are but few men in the world to whom I am more attached by inclination than I am to you."

Tench Tilghman and Lafayette are shown in the background of the portrait of Washington that hangs in the Capitol at Annapolis. (See page 470.)

General Nathaniel Greene and his wife were also great friends of the General's. It is said that he once danced with Mrs. Greene three hours without resting. In the stately dances of the eighteenth century that was probably not so unusual or so strenuous a feat as it has been made to appear. (Further reference to the Greenes will be found in Note M, Appendix.)

[2] Though Thomas Paine at one time was not in harmony with Washington, and so declared, we find this man who dwelt on the Heights, writing Paine from Rocky Hill, September 10, 1783:

> "Come to this place and partake of my board. Your presence may remind Congress of past services to this country, and if it is in my power to impress them, command my best exertions with freedom, as they will be rendered cheerfully by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your works."

[3] Even Hamilton said of the Chief who had contributed so much to his advancement, "Washington has a heart of stone." But that was very far from the truth. Washington's heart was warm enough; but his long exposure to ingratitude, chicanery and perfidy had taught him to present a cold exterior to the world.

The lines of partisanship were closely drawn in those red-hot days of the Revolution and of the reconstruction period that followed it. Men were friends—or enemies—according to their political views, and were rarely capable of unbiassed opinion. Few Tories could tolerate the Revolutionists; few Revolutionists had any patience with the Tories. A Tory wrote, referring to George Washington:

> "The friends of the rebel chief say he has virtues. I suppose he has. I say 'A curse on his virtues!' They have undone his country."

Washington, who possessed great moral courage, was broader than that. In March, 1789, he wrote to Benjamin Harrison:

> "My friendship is not in the least lessened by the difference which has taken place in our political sentiments, nor is my regard for you diminished by the part you have acted. Men's minds are as variant as their faces; and where the motives to their actions are pure, the operation of the former is no more to be imputed to them than the appearance of the latter; for both, being the work of Nature, are equally unavoidable."

Quick decision and prompt action were two of Washington's most salient characteristics. His anger over unfair criticism was intense, and often had unforeseen results. His retirement from the Army of Virginia, in indignation over the treatment accorded him, brought the entire Colony into the open to effect the gallant young soldier's return to leadership. Later, when President, he demanded that Congress stop blocking his plans—a stand in which he was upheld by the Federal Constitution.[1] His occasional

[1] Washington's letters—some filed in the Library of Congress and others treasured in various private collections—afford a vivid picture of the dastardly treatment often meted out to him by Congress, and clearly show how patriotism outweighed his indignation, holding him to his post, in spite of ingratitude,

outbursts of righteous anger were invariably salutary, hastening satisfactory action and strengthening his authority.

When Washington had once decided that his course was right, he held to it against all opposition. Personally he felt a deep admiration for Benjamin Franklin; but when that sturdy old patriot died April 17, 1790, at the ripe age of eighty-four, President Washington refused to sanction official mourning, being averse to establishing a precedent which might prove burdensome to the country in future years.[1] The French Court went into mourning.

Much has been said and written about Washington's economies; about his ability to drive a hard bargain; about his rigorous insistence upon the payment of a debt. But little mention has been made of his benevolence. Why did he loan Captain Stewart three hundred pounds, at great personal inconvenience, and never ask for its return?[2] Why did he severely reprove his nephew, Lund Washington, for feeding the enemy in order to save Mount Vernon from destruction? Why, after pushing a debtor to the jail door, did he forgive the debt upon learning of the man's inability to pay?—and later, when the debtor, restored to affluence, tendered the amount, long past due, why did Washington

insolence and deceit, when a lesser man would have irately resigned, letting the future take care of itself.

The J. Pierpont Morgan collection embraces a wide range of Washington's intimate writings. A letter written to Mrs. George William Fairfax, in 1756, requests her to oversee the making of some shirts, and gives explicit instructions as to the process; while another letter, written to a military friend some forty years later, refers to the difficulty of raising money.

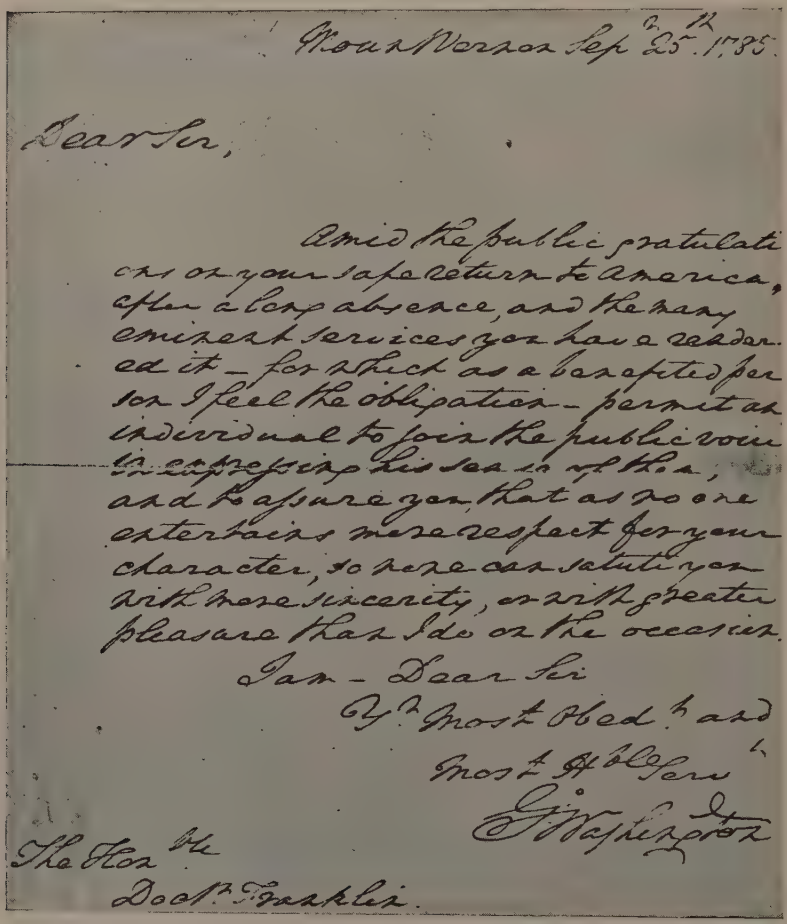
[1] The facsimile of a letter written by Washington to Franklin, congratulating him upon his return to the United States, in 1785, will be found on page 382.

[2] Captain Stewart, who had accompanied Washington to Boston, with Captain Mercer, on that memorable visit to Governor Shirley (refer to Vol. I, page 189), desired—in 1763—to purchase a commission, and requested a loan from Washington. The cost of the commission was four hundred pounds. Washington sent Stewart three hundred pounds, which he could ill spare, with a generous letter. Ten years later, hearing that Stewart was in England, with ample means for comfort, Washington again wrote him, but without mentioning the debt, saying:

"I shall always be glad to see you at Mount Vernon."

There is no record of this debt ever having been repaid.

return it as a gift to the debtor's family? These questions and a hundred others could be cited to prove Washington always the soul of generosity, honor, and justice.



Mount Vernon Sep. 25. 1785.

Dear Sir,

Amid the public gratulations on your safe return to America, after a long absence, and the many eminent services you have rendered it — for which as a benefited person I feel the obligation — permit an individual to join the public voice in expressing his sense of them; and to assure you, that as no one entertains more respect for your character, so none can salute you with more sincerity, or with greater pleasure than I do on the occasion.

I am — Dear Sir
Yr. Most Obedt. and
Most Aff. Servt.
G. Washington

The Hon.ble
Doctr. Franklin.

Washington's letter to Benjamrn Franklin on Franklin's return from Europe.

Like all Southerners of wealth and position of that time, Washington was a slave owner. For this, as for other things, he has been severely—and unjustly—criticised;

mainly by persons incapable of thinking in terms of the times in which Washington lived. But slave-holding was no source of pleasure to Washington. From any point of view it was costly and an endless source of care, but while he abhorred the whole system, he could see no way to abolish it without the invasion of private rights, since every planter owned slaves, and there was practically no other sort of labor to be had. Washington expressed his own personal views on the subject often enough. On the ninth of September, 1786, he wrote:

> I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase; it being my first wish to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."[1]

In the previous year, replying to a Methodist bishop who had sounded him on signing a petition for the emancipation of the slaves, he had written:

> "If the Maryland Assembly discusses the matter, I will address a letter to that body on the subject, as I have always approved of it."

In 1792 he wrote to Governor Pinckney, of South Carolina, on the same subject:

> "I was in hopes that motives of policy, supported by the dire effects of slavery, would have operated to produce a total prohibition of the importation of slaves, whenever the question came to be advocated in any State that might be interested in the measure."

[1] General Robert E. Lee expressed the same opinion some forty years later; while the books of the Virginia Assembly record the fact that in 1781 that body came within one vote of passing an anti-slave law. This is the more remarkable in that it followed the Nat Turner negro uprising, when from fifty to sixty white women and children of Virginia were ruthlessly murdered.

Washington, Fillmore and Lincoln were of one opinion as to the return of fugitives from labor, required by the Constitution. (Article 4, section 2.)

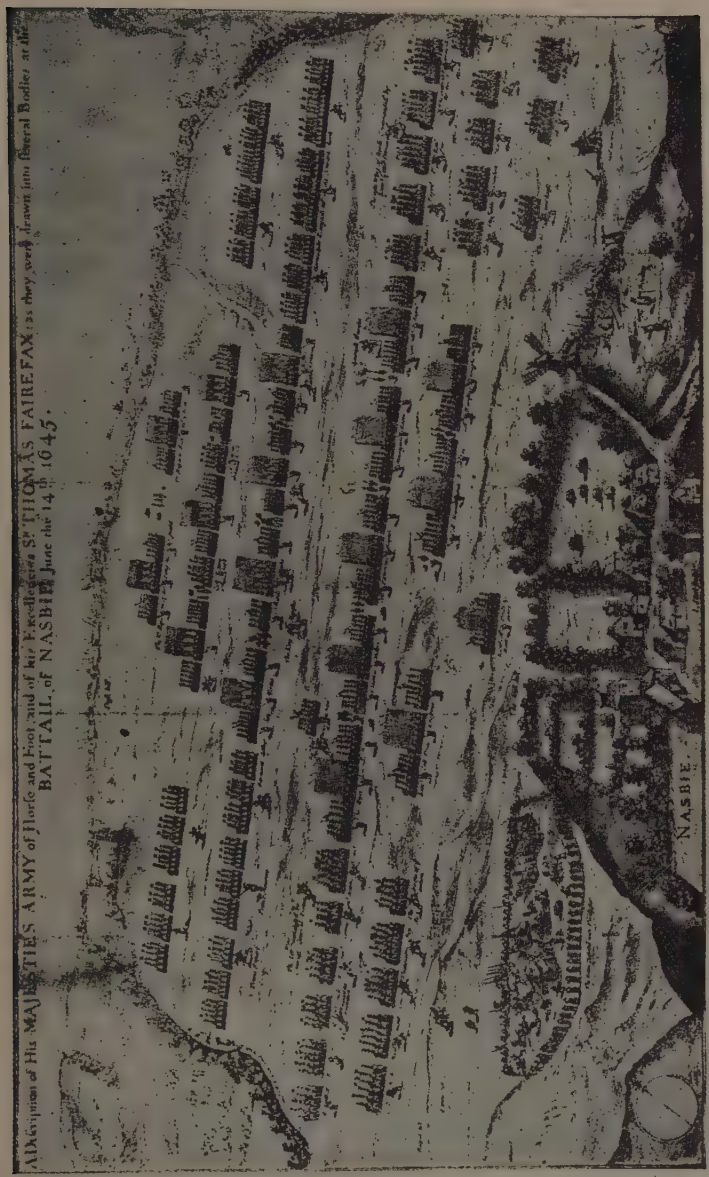
Washington's personal body slave was Billy Lee, purchased in 1768 for sixty-eight pounds. Billy attended the General all through the war, even riding after him at reviews; but later when out with his master on a surveying trip, he fell and broke a kneecap. He attempted to accompany the General to New York in 1789, but had to be sent back to Mount Vernon. It is recorded that when Revolutionary soldiers called at Mount Vernon to pay their respects to the General, they usually stopped at Billy's cabin before leaving. It was Billy's delight to talk over old times with these visitors, his favorite expression on such occasions being "When we fought de war."[1] There were approximately one hundred and fifty slaves on the Mount Vernon estate at the time of General Washington's death. His will stipulated that those belonging to himself should be given their freedom on the death of his wife;[2] but a considerable number of the total roll of slaves were the individual property of Mrs. Washington.

General Washington as a military genius presents an absorbing subject for study. Where he acquired his knowledge of strategy and tactics, the skill with which he planned his battles, his uncanny foreknowledge of the enemy's movements, has long been a puzzling question to militarists, scientists and historians alike. For Washington was, to all intents and purposes, self-taught and self-trained. The lessons he had received in his boyhood while stopping with his half-brother Lawrence at Mount Vernon[3] were too fragmentary to do more than imbue him with a taste for military affairs; while in his fighting experiences on the frontiers he had been left largely to his own resources; the death of Colonel Fry on the first expedition,[4] that of General

[1] In the picture of the Washington family group, painted by Edward Savage about 1795, Billy Lee is shown standing at the back of Mrs. Washington's chair (page 479). Engravings of this picture had an enormous sale.

[2] See page 398.

[3] See Vol. I, page 80. [4] Vol. I, page 151.



The spirit that brooded over Naseby hovered on the Delaware Shores and in Yorktown Redoubts a century and a half later.

Braddock on the second,[1] and General Forbes' illness on the third compelling him to assume command in crises that bristled with difficulties. But Washington had learned life-lessons in the hard school of Experience; he had early discerned the futility of depending on other resources than his own; had acquired the faculty of withdrawing into himself; and in the Silence had thought deeply.

Even in youth Washington had been an eager student and keen admirer of Cromwell, that brilliant master of military technique, and had manifested special interest in his strategic achievements, making a deep study of the battle plan of Naseby,[2] which resulted in so signal a victory for the Roundheads. In Washington's battle plans,[3] he locates each general and his troops.

Unlike most great commanders, Washington had but a small military reference library during his years of active service;[4] his entire stock of such literature, during his campaigns, being limited, in effect, to one volume—Sims' (or Simes') Military Guide.[5] But Washington's success did not depend upon "book-learning," military or otherwise. He relied, rather, upon his own expert knowledge of topography, acquired during toilsome years of surveying in rough country; his ability to read men and their motives—what one would call, in these days, his "psychic intuition"; his unfailing attention to detail, which took account of every requirement, however small, and overlooked nothing; his punctilious exaction of obedience from his subordinates;[6] and, over and above and co-existent with these attributes,

[1] Vol. I, page 176.

[2] See facsimile on page 385.

[3] Refer to page 59 for facsimile of this plan.

[4] It is apparent that Washington obtained, either by gift or purchase, more books on military subjects after his return to Mount Vernon.

[5] See facsimile, on page 387. Alexander Hamilton is authority for this statement.

[6] Many of them failed him at crucial moments—Gates, Charles Lee and Benedict Arnold among others—deeply wounding Washington's proud, generous, but sensitive spirit.

A

Military, Hiſtorical, *and* Explanatory

DICTIONARY.

ABBATIS, a defence much uſed, to defend a paſs, entrance, &c. conſiſts of trees hewn down, whoſe boughs are ſtripped of their leaves, and pointed. The method of planting theſe trees is to have their trunks buried in the ground, and the boughs faſtened, by interweaving them with each other. A ſmall ditch muſt be dug towards the enemy, and the earth thrown up properly againſt the lower part of the defence, which will add to its ſtrength, and render it very difficult, nay, impaſſable, if defended by Britiſh troops.

ADVANCE-FOSS, a moat or ditch of water round the glacis or eſplanade of a place of arms, to prevent ſurprize: being drained, ſerves for a trench to the beſiegers, therefore is not now approved of.

AFFUT, the French name of a gun carriage. Its diſtinction from other carriages is, that it belongs to a gun.

AGINCOURT, about ſix miles north of Heſdin, remarkable only for the glorious victory obtained near it in 1415, by Henry V. of England, over a French army eight or ten times more numerous than his. According to writers, the king had not above ten thouſand men; the French were near a hundred thouſand; the French hiſtorians confeſs, that the Engliſh were not above fifteen or twenty thouſand at moſt, and acknowledge that their own army was far ſuperior in numbers. The odds were very great on the ſide of the French; and the Engliſh gained immortal honour by the action, of which the following is a ſhort account.

King Henry, having landed near Harfleur, in the mouth of the Seine, about the middle of

 Auguſt,

Washington's first guide on military affairs.
By Sims.

that sublime faith in ultimate victory which never for a moment failed him, even when the clouds were blackest.

Washington was essentially a man of action. Theories had no place in his rule of conduct. He planned his campaigns in hours of deep reflection, upon which no intrusion was permitted. He was not a talker; he gave confidences to few; but mentally he rehearsed every part of his programme—and everyone's part in it—until every possible movement, with all that it might entail, stood out in bold relief in the background of his mind. Contingencies were provided for: accidents considered; the unexpected especially guarded against. Washington believed in the almighty power of God; but it is clear that he believed, no less profoundly, in the indomitable will of man. Consequently, he was able to face and overcome conditions that would have overwhelmed a less vigilant and less courageous soul.

Something of Washington's military method is revealed in his

SIX RULES OF WAR

1. Never attack a position in front which you can gain by turning.
2. Charges of cavalry should be made, if possible, on the flanks of infantry.
3. The first qualification of a soldier is fortitude under fatigue and privation; courage is only the second. Hardship, poverty and actual want are the soldier's best schools.
4. Nothing is so important in war as an undivided command.
5. Never do what the enemy wishes you to do.
6. A general of ordinary talent, occupying a bad position and surprised by a superior force, seeks safety in retreat; but a great captain supplies all deficiencies by his courage, and marches boldly to meet the attack.

These rules General Washington—who evolved them—himself obeyed to the letter.[1]

After an extended acquaintance with General Washington's tactics, British soldiers bestowed upon him the sobriquet of "The Old Fox."[2] He came by it legitimately enough, for he could usually be counted upon to do what the enemy least expected or desired; while, on the other hand, he frequently induced the enemy to do exactly what he—Washington—had planned from the beginning. More than once he thoughtfully permitted British spies to rummage among his private papers—which had been carefully "doctored" for the occasion; with the result of directing the enemy's attention to quarters where it would be least likely to interfere with General Washington's projects.[3]

General Washington was always thoughtful for his troops, and never lost an opportunity for keeping their morale at efficiency pitch. His courier system, devised chiefly for the purpose of keeping the men in good spirits,—especially those stationed at isolated posts,—was put into immediate action when there was good news to be carried. During the entire period of Sullivan's expedition to the Northern frontier, every item of cheering news was carried to the pathfinders by the Continental Express Riders—whose trips were every whit as perilous as those of the Pony Express Riders through the Indian country sixty or seventy years later. This marked solicitude of the Commander-in-Chief for the mental quietude of his soldiers reveals an

[1] It is said that Napoleon adopted these rules in his own campaigns.

[2] With no intention of disrespect, and more affectionately than otherwise, the Continental soldiers called the General "The Old Hoss." He certainly had plenty of "horse sense" in his make-up. It was Lord Cornwallis who originally nicknamed Washington "The Old Fox"; but eventually the rank and file of the British Army followed his example.

[3] The British inactivity during the first winter of the war was mainly due to the misinformation thus conveyed by spies—giving Washington time to obtain the cannon from Ticonderoga; and in another instance Washington managed to keep the British inactive until the Sullivan expedition had been successfully accomplished.

intimate knowledge of psychology which few military leaders have possessed, and throws a clear white light on the character of the man, Washington.

Had there been none who responded to this deeply human side of the great General, the history of the Revolutionary War might have ended differently; but, fortunately for America, there were loyal souls who would gladly lay down their lives, if need be, wherever he might send them. In the midst of a fiery engagement, General Washington sent for Colonel Hartley, of the Pennsylvania Line, and said, gravely:

"I have sent for you, Colonel, to implore of you a serious piece of service. The state of our affairs renders it necessary that part of this Army should be sacrificed for the welfare of the whole. You command an efficient corps. I know you well, and have therefore elected you to perform this important and serious duty. You will take such a position, and defend it to the last extremity."

The Colonel was ready for the sacrifice. Saluting, he replied, without hesitation:

"Your Excellency does me too much honor. Your orders shall be obeyed to the letter."

Volumes could be filled with the encomiums that the world's great men have lavished upon Washington during the past century and a half. Abraham Lincoln said of him, at the Birthday celebration in 1842:

> "To-day is the one-hundred-and-tenth anniversary of the birth of Washington. We are met to celebrate this day. Washington is the mightiest name on earth; long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty; still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe let us pronounce that name; and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shining on."

1. Sir Thomas William Coke. 2. George III. 3. Queen Charlotte.

Napoleon contributed this:

"The measure of his fame is full. Posterity will speak of him with reverence as the founder of a great empire when my name will be lost in the vortex of revolutions."

So deeply were leaders of thought in Europe impressed by the strength and nobility of Washington's character that throughout the Revolution his name was toasted in France, England and Germany. That renowned Englishman, Sir Thomas William Coke, avowed that he "drank the health of General Washington every night during the Revolutionary War as the greatest man on earth."

In his address on Washington's Birthday, 1926, President Coolidge said:

> "Through and through Washington is the great example of character. He sought to bestow that heritage upon his country. We shall fail in our estimation and understanding of him unless we remember that during his lifetime he helped to build a place of religious worship; in his will he provided for institutions of learning; and in his Farewell Address he emphasized the spiritual values of life.
>
> "But what he did was even more eloquent than what he said. He was a soldier, a patriot, a statesman; but in addition to all these he was a great teacher."

CHAPTER XLI

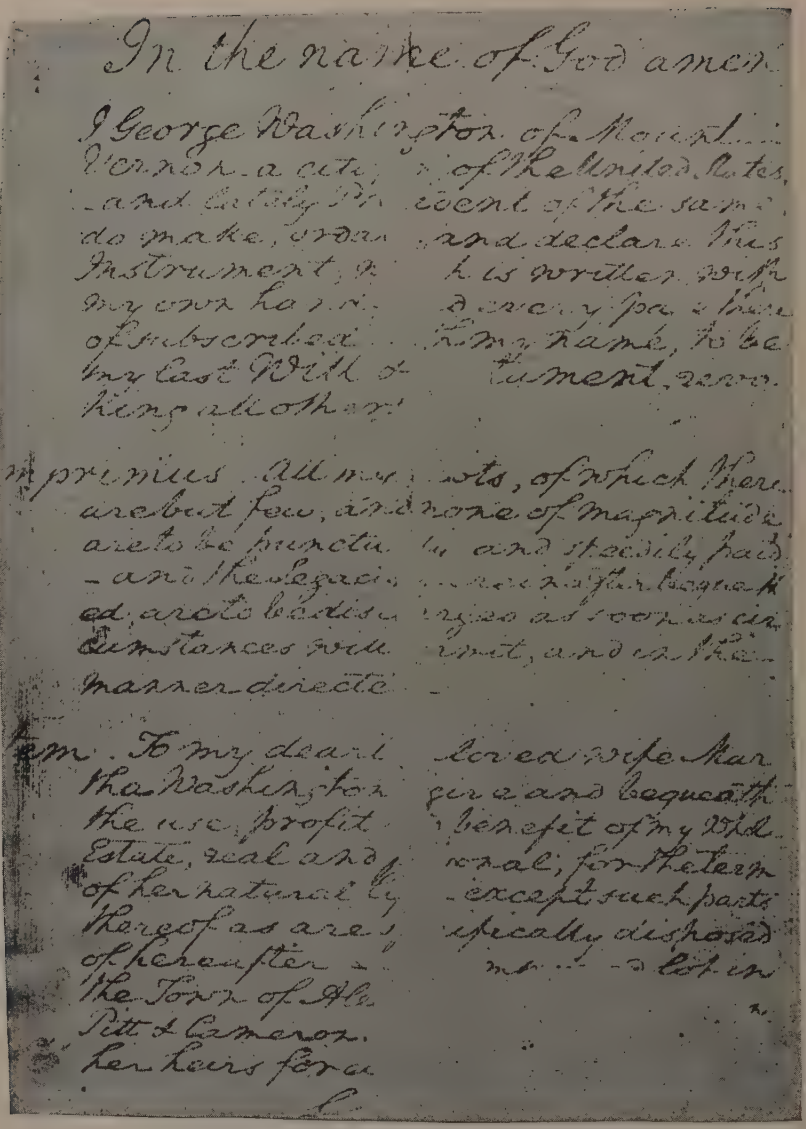
GEORGE WASHINGTON'S WILL. HIS KINDLY AND PRACTICAL LAST THOUGHTS. AS TO MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS. THE WASHINGTON OF TO-DAY

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S will was proved on the twentieth of January, 1800.[1] It consisted of twenty-five pages in his own careful handwriting, each of the pages separately signed except page twenty-three. The document was drawn up with infinite forethought, properly

Fairfax County Court House, where Washington's will was filed.

witnessed; and effectually checkmated any possible dispute over its provisions on the part of the legatees by directing that, in such an event, a Family Supreme Court be formed for the settlement of the dispute, each side to select an

[1] The will was signed July 9, 1799—five months before Washington's death. The first and last pages of the document are shown (in part) in facsimile on pages 394–395.



In the name of God amen.

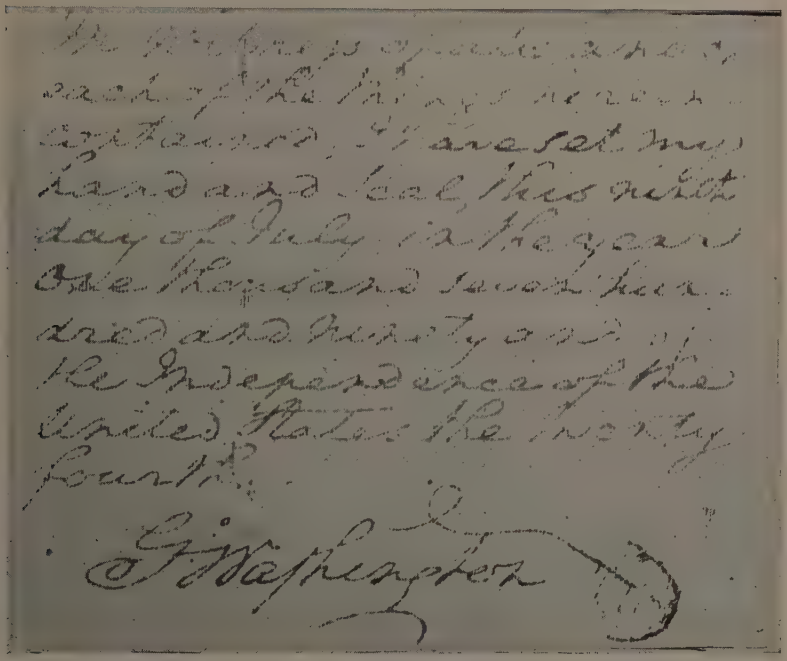
I George Washington of Mount-
Vernon a citizen of the United States,
and totally Resident of the same,
do make, ordain and declare this
Instrument, written wholly with
my own hand, and subscribed
by my name, to be
my last Will & Testament, revoking all other

Item. All my premises, all my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid, and the legacies hereafter bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item. To my dearly beloved wife Martha Washington I give and bequeath the use, profit, benefit of my whole Estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter — the Town of Alexandria, Messrs. Dalton, Pitt & Cameron, her heirs forever.

Excerpt from first page of Washington's will.

arbiter and these arbiters to select a third, whose verdict as to the testator's meaning should be accepted as final.



Excerpt from last page of Washington's will.

The will was simply and clearly worded throughout, following the method of the dignified preamble:

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

"I, George Washington of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States and lately President of the same, do make, ordain and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand and every page thereof subscribed with my name, to be my last Will and Testament, revoking all others.

"*Imprimis*: All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and

speedily paid, and the legacies hereinafter bequeathed are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit and in the manner directed."

With his usual common sense, Washington referred but briefly in his will to his burial, merely stating:

"It is my express desire that my corpse be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration."

He advised, however, the building of a more secure vault, for which he had drawn plans.

The will contained forty-one bequests. Mount Vernon, which Washington had long ago promised to his brother, John Augustine Washington, now dead, was bequeathed to John Augustine's son, Bushrod—but not until the death of Mrs. Washington:

"*Item*: To my dearly loved wife, Martha Washington, I give and bequeath the use, profit and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specifically disposed of hereafter."[1]

[1] Upon the death of Mrs. Washington, in 1802, a general distribution of the property was made; and many personal possessions, both of General Washington and his wife, not otherwise disposed of by bequest, were sold at Mount Vernon to relations and friends for the benefit of the estate. (A list of the items thus disposed of will be found in Note U, Appendix.)

By special permission of the owners, there are here shown photographs of many personal mementos of Washington and his wife.

General Washington personally sent the campstool used by him from 1775 to 1783 to Jean Luzac, of Leyden, Holland, who, during the Revolutionary War, published the *Leyden Gazette* in Dutch and French, giving to the world the correct news of affairs in America. Luzac was instrumental in securing the armed neutrality of Russia, Prussia and the Netherlands against Great Britain.

The ship containing the campstool—and an appreciative letter from General Washington which accompanied it—was captured by a French privateer; but its captain, after confiscating the vessel and cargo, sent the gift and the letter at his own expense to Professor Luzac. The Professor delivered the funeral oration at the memorial services held at Leyden after Washington's death. A tablet erected at Leyden in 1919 to commemorate Jean Luzac's services to America is shown on page 397.

Another item in the will reads thus:

"I give and bequeath to George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of my wife and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four Mile Run in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing one thousand two hundred acres, more or less; and my entire square, Number twenty-one, in the City of Washington." [1]

The Jean Luzac tablet. © *J. & R. Lamb.*

And another, particularly interesting because it is so characteristic of its author, is this:

"To each of my nephews, William Augustine Washington, George Lewis, George Steptoe Washington, Bushrod Washington and Samuel Washington, I give one of the swords or cutteaux of which I may die possessed; and they are to choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunc-

[1] For additional data concerning General Washington's real estate holdings, refer to Note G, Appendix.

tion not to unsheathe them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in the defence of their Country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands, to the relinquishment thereof."

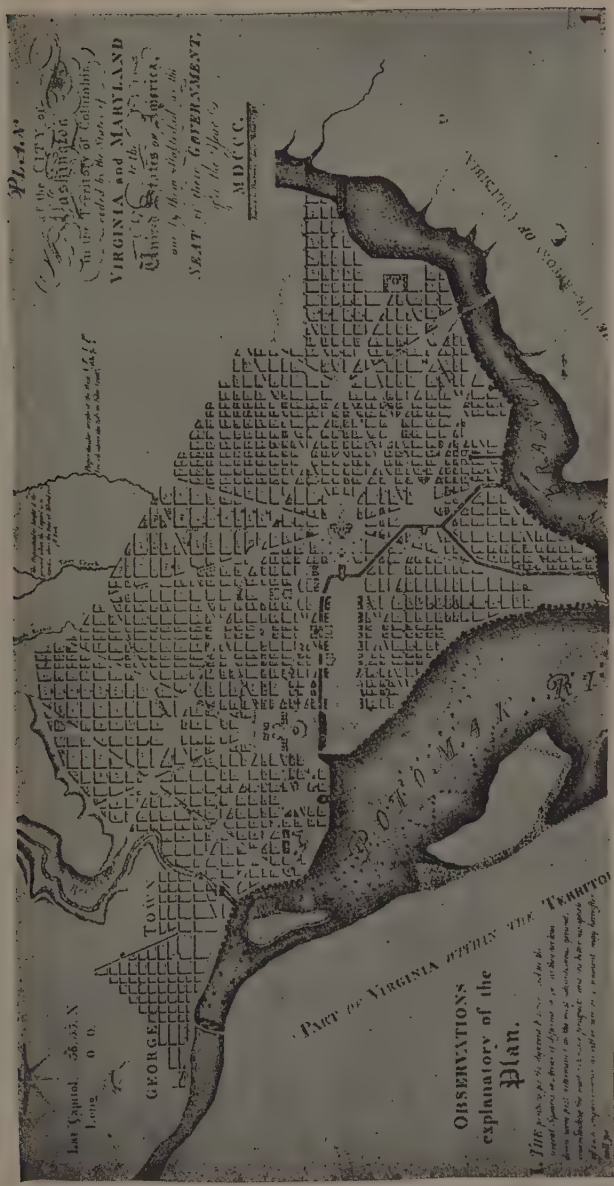
During his lifetime General Washington had been generous to the cause of education. He had voluntarily assisted some of his relatives and friends to educate their sons—among them William Ramsay, of Alexandria[1]—and had annually subscribed fifty pounds a year toward the education of poor children of Alexandria. He carried this thought of the education of the poor to the framing of his will, leaving five thousand dollars for the benefit of the sons of poor widows—for educational purposes. In addition, he bequeathed four thousand dollars for the endowment of the Alexandria Academy.[2]

The future of his colored servitors after his death had evidently occasioned the General no little anxiety; for his will directed that his slaves be freed upon Mrs. Washington's death; and it was made clear that they would have been emancipated at his own death but for relationships formed with Mrs. Washington's slaves; in which cases, families would be broken up by some members being free and some not. For the slaves who were old and feeble it was provided that they should still be fed and clothed after their emancipation; and for the younger negroes, similar provision was made, to include their education and manual training.

[1] Refer to page 266.

[2] The need for a National University impressed Washington with great force, and the creation and endowment of such an educational centre was one of his most cherished desires. In the closing years of his life he offered to subscribe to the cause, and earnestly urged its claims in a letter written to the commissioners of the Federal District:

"It has always been a source of serious reflection and sincere regret with me that the youth of the United States should be sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education. The Federal City, from its centrality and the advantages which in other respects it must have over any other place in the United States, ought to be preferred as a site for such a University."



Official plan of the City of Washington (then Federal City) issued in 1792, seven years before Washington's death.

The world has erected many splendid monuments and memorials to the great Washington; but the most splendid and enduring memorial of all is that of which Washington himself was the founder; that unique and beautiful city on the Potomac which was, in its beginning, the city of his dream—the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia.

Although Philadelphia had been made, temporarily, the capital city of the United States in 1790, the Southern States had earnestly urged that the seat of government be eventually placed on the shores of the Potomac; a plan which was strongly favored by Washington and fostered by Alexander Hamilton during his Secretaryship of the Treasury.

A tract of land ten miles square was deeded by Maryland and Virginia in 1790 to the newly-formed District of Columbia. President Washington—insisting upon a spacious area for what, he foresaw, would be a city unique in the annals of nations—wrote pointedly to the commissioners on the subject:

> "Will the gentlemen not recollect my observation that Philadelphia stood upon an area of three by two miles; and if the metropolis of one State occupied so much ground, what ought that of the United States to occupy?"

The ground plan of Federal City—afterward Washington—was largely the work of General Washington, who, with Charles l'Enfant, the French engineer,[1] trudged patiently

[1] L'Enfant was a skilful engineer, but had costly and obstinate notions. He was the architect of the Robert Morris home at Sixth and Market Streets, Philadelphia, and contributed to the ultimate ruin of that unfortunate financier and patriot with his preposterous extravagance. Washington at one time employed him to make alterations in New York City Hall.

He did excellent work under General Washington on the plans for Federal City, but his intractability prompted Washington to take summary action through his Secretary of State, who wrote to l'Enfant in February, 1791:

> "The President, having received necessary evidence of your refusal to accept or obey orders issued by the commissioners of the Federal Territory, instructs me to say that your services are at an end."

The Capitol and its surroundings in 1831, and as it is to-day.

through forest and clearing, surveying the land, defining boundaries, laying out future avenues and streets, and deciding upon locations for some of the administrative buildings; afterward sitting far into the night over sketches and draughting board, laying out on paper the lines of the City Beautiful. The plan of the city, with its broad avenues,

Washington's Federal City surveying office.

Grave in Arlington of Major Charles l'Enfant who surveyed Federal City with Washington.

its frequent squares and parks, and its wide diagonal intersections, was specially designed, not only to facilitate direct communication between distant points, but also—should the occasion arise—to simplify the speedy subjugation of mobs. General Washington usually spoke of the city as "Federal City"[2]—perhaps from a sense of modesty; but it

[1] President Washington laid the corner stone of the Capitol in 1793.

[2] The name, Federal City, was suggested by Congress in designating commissioners "to survey Federal Territory."

1. The Capitol building about 1812.
2. The White House, in 1799.
3. Washington City, in 1800.

was officially recognized as Washington, in maps and documents, for some time before his death, and was by that name mentioned by him in his will.

At the time of General Washington's death—and even until well into the nineteenth century—Washington was literally a "city of magnificent distances"; the name being given at that time in an opprobrious sense, for the spaces were indeed wide and open, and the houses few and far between. In 1799 the city contained less than fifty houses, none being of marked importance; and the Capitol and Executive Mansion were far from being completed. Even as late as 1840 the French Minister wrote that it was "neither village, city, nor yet country, and more like a building yard than a suitable dwelling-place."

For a generation the population of the city increased only at the rate of about six hundred a year, and it was not until the outbreak of the War of the States that Washington really came into its own. But from that time onward it expanded in wealth, beauty, population and international importance; and it stands to-day unrivalled in its broad general development and the magnificence of its structures, as well as the rare natural beauty of its environment.[1]

[1] The Washington Monument, in the city of Washington, is inscribed with stirring tributes from many lands to the greatness of the man whom the world has delighted to honor. On the marble block contributed by Greece one may read:

TO
GEORGE WASHINGTON
THE HERO
THE CITIZEN OF THE NEW AND ILLUSTRIOUS LIBERTY
THE LAND OF SOLON, OF THEMISTOCLES
AND PERICLES, THE MOTHER OF ANCIENT
LIBERTY, SENDS THIS ANCIENT STONE AS
A TESTIMONY OF HONOR AND ADMIRA-
TION FROM THE PARTHENON.

Millard Fillmore was one of the first Presidents to make the city of Washington worthy of its name and its creator; while President Grant may be called its first foster-father. Colonel Shepherd, who developed Grant's plan, now stands in bronze before the City Hall.

CHAPTER XLII

MOUNT VERNON, AMERICA'S MOST VENERATED SHRINE. ITS TEMPORARY ECLIPSE, FOLLOWED BY RESTORATION AND ENDOWMENT. CHAIN OF TITLE TO MOUNT VERNON. ANN PAMELA CUNNINGHAM. THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNION. SCULPTURES AND MONUMENTS. APPENDIX

NOT FAR distant from the city of Washington is Mount Vernon, the beloved home of George Washington. It is, unquestionably, the most deeply venerated private home in America, if not in the world;[1] a shrine to which admiring pilgrims, from every quarter of the globe, throng in larger and larger numbers every year. Few there are who do not carry away with them something of the inspiration of George Washington's life and achievements; for Mount Vernon, after many vicissitudes, presents to twentieth-century eyes a rare and charming picture of the orderliness and dignity of its Colonial days; still breathes the unquenchable spirit of the man who, though a great soldier and a great statesman, spent the happiest hours of his life as Master of Mount Vernon.

Here one may enter the rooms in which he lived, the room in which he died; may gaze upon his desk, his favorite chair, many of his intimate personal possessions; may, looking upon the home and the inanimate objects that he held dear, perceive something of the manner of man he was. It is impossible to visit Mount Vernon—with its brooding peace, its sylvan charm, its magnificent sweep of hill, vale and river—and not feel, in some measure, the benign influence of the man, George Washington.

[1] Shakespeare's bithplace, at Stratford-on-Avon, possibly receives more annual visitors.

1. Sitting room, with private stairway to Washington's sleeping room.
2. Library. © *Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.*

During the forty-six years of his ownership, Washington increased the area of his Mount Vernon estate from the original twenty-five hundred acres to considerably over eight thousand; besides vastly augmenting its value, acre by acre, by his intensive system of farming, the improvements he introduced, and the various new buildings he erected. Twice he enlarged the house, to meet growing requirements; first, in 1760—not long after his marriage—

Banquet hall. © *Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.*

and again in 1785. The last improvements included a banquet hall, library, dining room, and an entire third story. Washington afterward scored his own poor judgment in spending time and money in remodelling an old house.

"Pity I had not built a new one," he said; "it costs twice as much to repair."

While the Mount Vernon mansion was in course of renovation the old corner stone was brought to light in the cellar wall.[1] It is a rare and interesting memento of that

[1] An illustration of this stone will be found on page 411.

1. Miss Custis' music room. 2. Kitchen.

© *Mount Vermon Ladies' Association of the Union.*

early rebuilding of the house after the fire which destroyed the original structure—which is supposed to have been built by Augustine Washington, father of George Washington, about the year 1740. Carved in the stone is a heart-shaped shield, with two battle-axes and the initials "L. W." These are probably the initials of Lawrence Washington, who

Room where George Washington died.
© *Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.*

inherited the estate from his father, Augustine, and in turn bequeathed it to his half-brother, George.[1]

The Chain of Title to Mount Vernon

The Mount Vernon title goes back to the initial grant from the Crown (Charles II) in 1664, to Lords Culpeper and Arlington, from which five thousand acres of the Great Northern Neck tract were deeded by Lord Culpeper,

[1] As related in Vol. I, page 160.

1. Staircase hall, at Mount Vernon.
2. Family dining-room.

© *Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.*

(first owner of record of what is now Mount Vernon) to Colonels Nicholas Spencer and John Washington. This deed was confirmed in 1679 by a grant from George H. Jeffreys.

John Washington willed his half of the above land to his son, Lawrence Washington of Wakefield (then Pope's Creek) the will being recorded January 10, 1677. In 1690 the grant was divided, the southern portion, bounded by Epsewasson (Dogue) Creek, falling to the Spencer heirs, while Lawrence Washington received the portion to the north, bounded by Little Hunting Creek, as shown on the map, Vol. I, pages 50–51.

Corner-stone of Mount Vernon.

The will of Lawrence Washington of Pope's Creek—later called Wakefield—proved March 30, 1698, divided his various properties equally among his wife and three children, John, Augustine, and Mildred. The above described twenty-five hundred acres he devised to his daughter Mildred, third wife of Roger Gregory of Stafford County, Virginia.

In 1726, Mildred Gregory and her husband, in consideration of nine hundred dollars, jointly transferred the Hunting Creek property to Mildred's brother, Augustine, father of George Washington.

Captain Augustine Washington bought from the Spencer heirs two hundred acres, on which he erected a grist mill, where George Washington later produced his famous Mount Vernon brand of flour.

Captain Augustine Washington conveyed to his son Lawrence twenty-five hundred acres and the grist mill by deed recorded October 28, 1740.

1. North lodge gate at Mount Vernon.
2. West lodge gate, Mount Vernon.
3. Summer house and Potomac River, Mount Vernon.

© *Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.*

This son, Major Lawrence Washington, half-brother of George, died in July, 1752, and left the property to his infant daughter Sarah and her heirs, with a life interest to his wife, Anne Fairfax Washington, provided that in event of his

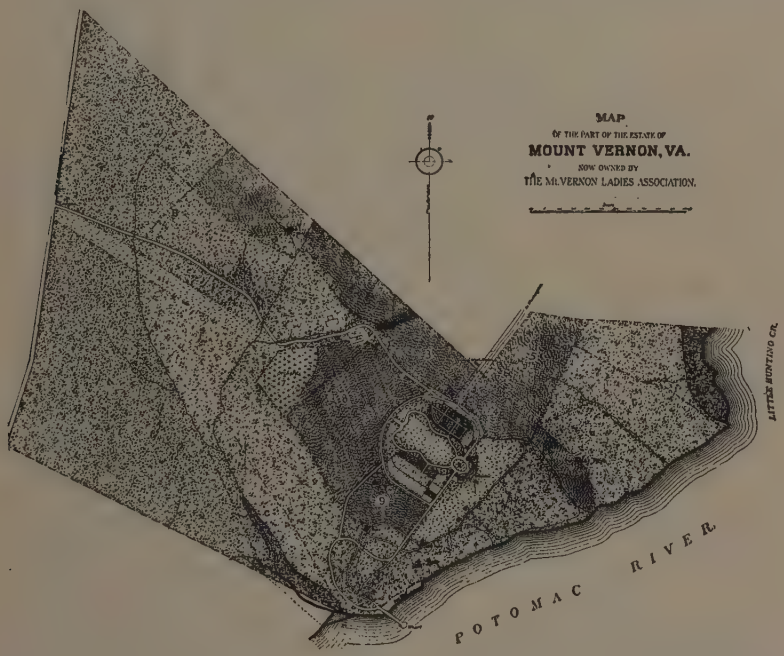
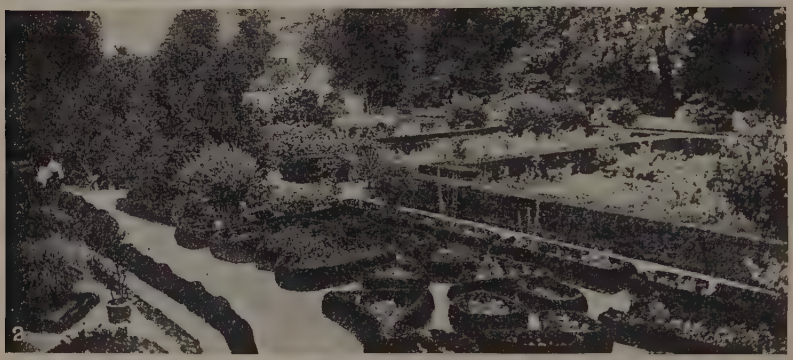
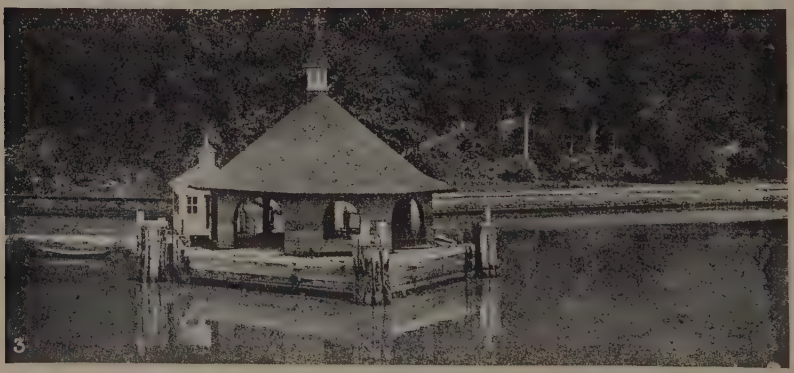


Diagram of the two hundred and thirty-seven acres of the present Mount Vernon.
© Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

daughter Sarah's death without issue, the property should revert to his half-brother, George. Sarah's death occurred shortly.

Lawrence's widow married Colonel George Lee, and she and her husband conveyed all their right to the two tracts to George Washington December 16, 1754. This cancellation of the widow's dower gave George Washington Mount Vernon in fee, to which he added by various purchases.





1. The old coach house, at Mount Vernon.
2. Martha Washington's Garden.
3. Dock and river front. © *Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.*

George Washington bequeathed the property to Bushrod, son of his brother, John Augustine Washington, and Bushrod,

1. Bushrod Washington, judge of the Supreme Court.
2. Hannah, wife of Bushrod Washington.
3. Jane C. Washington and her family.

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having no children, left it to his nephew, John Augustine Washington, son of his brother Corbin.

Mount Vernon in its decadent days. © *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

John Augustine lived but a short time to enjoy the property, dying December 21, 1829. His will, proved July 16, 1832, conveyed all of his property to his wife, Jane C. Washington, during her widowhood.

In 1850, within her rights, Jane C. Washington conveyed the Mount Vernon mansion and twelve hundred and twenty-five acres to her eldest son, John A. Washington, confirming said conveyance in her will in 1855.

Colonel John A., eldest son of John A. Washington.

Lawrence, son of Colonel John A. Washington.

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John Augustine Washington—son of John Augustine and Jane C. Washington and grand-nephew of Bushrod Washington—found it impossible, in the disturbed conditions prevailing in the South for several years prior to the War of the States, to keep Mount Vernon at its former high level of cultivation; but he made every possible effort to prevent it from falling into the hands of speculators. He endeavored to persuade the Government to take it over; and at one time even offered to sell the mansion, with all the buildings

and one thousand acres of land, in perpetuity to the American nation, for thirty thousand dollars; but the offer was not accepted.

In 1855 Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham, of South Carolina, —an invalid and at that time confined to her bed,—formed the nucleus of what ultimately became the Ladies' Mount

Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham, of South Carolina.
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Vernon Association of the Union. Inspired by her deep and abiding reverence for the memory of the great Virginian who became the Father of his Country, and fired with indignation at the thoughtless ingratitude which threatened to permit the home he loved to fall into ruin, she enlisted the co-operation of other loyal Southern women; their united efforts resulting in an organized movement for a

country-wide subscription for the purchase and endowment of Mount Vernon.[1]

Eventually John Augustine Washington was approached, and several conferences took place. After many delays, occasioned by misunderstandings of one sort or another, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union succeeded in purchasing the homestead property for two hundred thousand dollars;[2] the deeds and title, including the tomb with the property, were signed November 12, 1868. Endowment by the Association, which remains the custodian of the property, has safely assured this sacred and valuable heritage to the American people for all time. Miss Cunningham had, later, the supreme joy of living at Mount Vernon, and of seeing her wonderful life work crowned with success.

It is worthy of record that Edward Everett,[3] famous statesman, writer and orator, who died in 1865, gave to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association the sixty thousand dollars received from his celebrated lecture on Washington, which he delivered one hundred and twenty-two times.

Mount Vernon, when it passed into the keeping of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, was far advanced in decadence.[4] The twin destroyers, Time and Neglect, had done savage work. Sagging cornices, posts out of plumb, veranda floor chipped and broken, and walls devoid of paint, disfigured the mansion; the once beautiful grounds were

[1] The author recalls that, while attending Chauncey Hall School in Boston Massachusetts, in his early youth, he and his schoolmates contributed to the subscription started by Miss Cunningham for the purchase of Mount Vernon.

[2] Mr. Washington had then been offered three hundred thousand dollars by speculators.

[3] Edward Everett thus described Washington:

"Washington was the greatest of good men and the best of great men."

At Lord Macaulay's request, Edward Everett prepared a biography of George Washington. A biography of Edward Everett was published in 1925, sixty years after his death.

[4] The dilapidated condition of the mansion at that time is shown in the illustration on page 416.

covered with a tangle of weeds; and the deserted farm had become a wilderness. But all this is of the distant past. To-day—thanks to the patriotic devotion of America's daughters—Mount Vernon stands restored to its old-time stateliness, reinvested with its old-time beauty and charm.[1] It is at once America's best-loved shrine, and a sacred memorial to her most honored son.

[1] The diagram on page 413 outlines the boundaries of the two hundred and thirty-seven acres, including the extensive and beautiful frontage on the Potomac, that comprise the Mount Vernon estate of to-day. Of this area, the late Jay Gould, famous financier of New York City, deeded thirty-three and one-half acres in 1887, and in 1893 Christian Heurich, of Washington, D. C., deeded two acres.

The remainder of the original tract is now divided into some forty small farms, and the desolation that for many years brooded over George Washington's model plantation, has been banished by the allied agencies of modern industry, modern science and modern machinery.

The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association has courteously supplied the author with the sixteen copyrighted views of Mount Vernon here reproduced especially for publication in this work.

THE WASHINGTON PORTRAITS,

ALSO SCULPTURES AND MONUMENTS

PROBABLY no public man has ever lived whose features have been so frequently immortalized on canvas as those of George Washington. Of portraits alone, some painted from life and others copied or adapted from life portraits, there are—collected herein—some two hundred and fifty; while in groups and historical scenes are hundreds more. The face, figure and personal history of Washington lend themselves to the requirements of the painter and the sculptor as those of few men do. His features were of heroic type; his figure and carriage majestic; and his manner of dress, whether as an officer of rank or as a civilian attired in the fashion of the day, was both attractive and artistic, from every point of view.

In his earlier life, Washington was not much inclined toward sitting for his portrait—a tedious task for an active man—nor did he spare much time for it during his years of military service. It was during the Presidency that he began to listen with more tolerance to the importunities of admirers who desired his portrait and painters who were eager to paint it. It was then that the Peales, Gilbert Stuart, Savage, Pine, Sharples, Trumbull, and others, as well as sculptors, such as Houdon and Ceracchi, came into their own, to the upbuilding of their undying fame and the great enrichment of the world. Washington writes somewhat quaintly in 1785 about his changed viewpoint in a letter addressed to Francis Hopkinson. Robert Edge Pine had requested permission to paint his portrait:

"'In for a penny, in for a pound' is an old adage. I am so hackneyed to the touch of a painter's pencil

that I am now altogether at their beck, and sit like 'Patience on a monument' while they are delineating the lines of my face. It is a proof, among many others, of what habit and custom may effect. At first I was as impatient of the request and as restive under the operation as a colt is of the saddle. The next time I submitted reluctantly, but with less flouncing. Now no dray-horse moves more readily to the thill than I to the painter's chair."

For a moment ignoring the so-called Boston Copley portrait of Washington, one of the earliest is said to have been painted by John Wollaston [1] about 1756, when he was also painting Mary Philipse of Yonkers, to whom young Colonel Washington was then paying court. It was recently discovered in England, whither it had been taken by George William Fairfax, Washington's intimate friend from young manhood. At the time of painting, Washington was twenty-four years old, a dashing and brilliant figure in his picturesque uniform. He had seen hard fighting in the previous year he had been with the ill-fated Braddock at Monongahela [2] — and was everywhere spoken of as a promising young man and a fearless soldier. The eyes and hair in this portrait appear darker than were Washington's, whose eyes were blue-gray and hair sandy.

Besides John Wollaston, twelve prominent artists and some eighteen others portrayed Washington from life; Gilbert Stuart; [3] Jean Antoine Houdon; the three Peales—Charles Willson Peale, his son Rembrandt, and his brother James; Charles B. J. F. de St. Memin; John Trumbull, Washington's former aide de camp,[4] son of Jonathan Trumbull, Connecticut's war governor; Edward Savage; James

[1] Refer to page 460.

[2] Refer to page Vol. I, page 172.

[3] In early life Gilbert Stuart used his middle initial, "C"; but he dropped it later.

[4] See page Vol. I, page 121.

Sharples; Archibald Robertson; Robert Edge Pine, and Joseph Wright. George Washington Parke Custis, the General's adopted son, who was often present at sittings, in later years summarized the special gifts of three of these painters thus:

> "Stuart for head, Trumbull for figure, Sharples for expression."

The three Peales were so fortunate as to combine attractive personality with artistic skill; which made them welcome guests in the Washington family. The result has been a varied range of portraits by these artists.

Charles Willson Peale painted his first portrait of Washington in 1772, visiting Mount Vernon for that purpose. Washington wrote about this, in his usual picturesque style, under date of May 21, 1772:

> "Inclination having yielded to importunity, I am now, contrary to all expectation, under the hands of Mr. Peale; but in so grave, so sullen a mood, and now and then under the influence of Morpheus, when some critical strokes are making, that I fancy the skill of this gentleman's pencil will be put to it in describing to the world what manner of man I am.
>
> "I have no doubt of Mr. Peale's meeting very good encouragement in a tour to Williamsburg; for having mentioned him to some Gentlemen at our Court they seem desirous of employing him on his way down."

The General seems never to have taken this portrait-painting business very seriously. His written comments on the subject are almost invariably tinged with gentle satire.

This first of the Peale portraits was a military study, portraying Washington in the uniform of a Colonial colonel. Peale also painted at this time a miniature of Mrs. Washington, "for the use of Mr. Custis (her son, Jack) and at his

desire,"—as the artist quaintly puts it, in his hand-written receipt for the ten guineas paid him for his work.

A little later, John Hancock, of Massachusetts, appears to have desired portraits of General and Mrs. Washington. These were painted by Charles Willson Peale in half-length in the summer of 1776. Hancock gave them to Admiral d'Estaing. A miniature portrait of Mrs. Washington was painted by him at about the same time.

In late 1777 Peale was painting a miniature of the General at the request of Mrs. Washington, using, for a temporary studio, a bedroom in a farmhouse near Skipback Creek, Pa. The room could boast but one chair, which was occupied by the artist; while the General sat on the edge of the bed.

Peale made a number of replicas of this miniature; and, in addition, painted a miniature full-length of Washington for Lafayette, as well as a full-length portrait, in full size, for the State of Maryland. A copy of the latter portrait hangs in the Patent Office, Washington, D. C. Another full-length portrait in duplicate was painted by the same artist for the State of Pennsylvania.

Charles Willson Peale was called the "Soldier Painter" because he painted in the winter and fought in the summer. In January, 1779, at the request of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, Washington sat to C. W. Peale for a portrait, which was hung in the Council Chamber, in Philadelphia. Some years afterward, in 1781, this picture was destroyed by a mob, with other city property.

In 1782 Charles W. Peale painted a full-size bust of Washington, and in 1787 one for his own gallery. The latter was presented in 1854 to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. There are several replicas, one owned by John Hill Morgan of New York City, one by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and one by the Virginia Historical

Society. There is also a replica in the New York Public Library. James Peale copied the bust on a large canvas and added the figure, in military dress. Later he painted a horse and attendant in the background.

In the autumn of 1783, at Rocky Hill, near Princeton, New Jersey, C. W. Peale painted a full-length portrait of Washington for the College of New Jersey, to occupy a frame from which a portrait of George II had been shot away by a cannon ball at the battle of Princeton. This historic painting of Washington hangs to-day in Nassau Hall, Princeton—that time-honored structure built in 1748 through the generosity of Governor Belcher of Massachusetts and named in honor of William of Nassau (Orange), King of England.[1]

James Peale painted a miniature of Washington in 1795, and made a profile sketch in pencil.

In September, 1795, Rembrandt Peale, son of Charles Willson Peale and nephew of James, obtained, through his father's influence, three early morning sittings with President Washington, each sitting consuming three hours. The result of these sittings was a portrait which received the commendation of several intimate friends of Washington. The picture was painted in Philadelphia; but when it was finished, the artist took it to Charleston, S. C., and there painted ten replicas of it. Chancellor De Saussure, a personal friend of President Washington, purchased the original, which hung for eighty years in the De Saussure mansion in South Carolina, passing by inheritance to the Chancellor's son. After its exhibition at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, it passed out of the De Saussure family into that of the late George L. Sanderson, of Antes Fort, Lycoming, Pa. Mr. Sanderson died in 1907, when the painting came into the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Emily Sanderson Cotter. In recent years it has been loaned to the library

[1] In the joint reign of William and Mary.

at Williamsport, Pa. This, considered one of the most attractive portraits of Washington, is now owned by Mr. Thomas B. Clarke, of New York City. (See page 481.)

Rembrandt Peale, who was an ardent admirer of Washington, continued, with tireless energy, to paint replicas of his favorite subject, some costumed in the fashion of the period, some in military dress. So imbued was he with the Washington spirit that, in addition to painting portraits of him, he frequently lectured on Washington. Later in life he painted his well-known replica of the General standing beside a white charger.

One portrait of Washington painted by Rembrandt Peale was purchased by Congress for two thousand dollars, and is now in the Senate Chamber at Washington, where it hangs over the President's chair. Another portrait was the joint work of Rembrandt Peale and his father. This was painted from life, and is now in the Bryan Collection, New York Historical Society. In 1859, when Rembrandt Peale was eighty-two years old, he referred to his work with his father on that memorable day in 1795.

Charles Willson Peale had fourteen or more sittings with Washington. In September, 1796, he wrote that both he and Gilbert Stuart had sittings with the President for portraits. In 1787 Washington recorded two sittings given to Peale; one on the third and another on the sixth of July. Peale painted miniatures of all the Washington family at that time.

Among painters of Washington portraits, Gilbert Stuart and the three Peales are in the first rank. While not accorded as free a hand as the Peales, Stuart had three sittings with President Washington, and made the most of them. Art lovers the world over are deeply in debt to this painter, whose portraits of Washington are held in high esteem. Comment has been made on the fact that they are somewhat idealized, yet artistic. They represent Washington with

white hair, fairly thick, although it is said to have been somewhat thin and the color sandy, as before stated.

At the time of the Stuart sittings, however, it is quite within the probabilities that Washington's hair *was* white, as he was sixty-three years old at his first meeting with Stuart.[1] The General's family took deep interest in the Stuart portraits, and on at least one occasion both Mrs. Washington and young Washington Custis were present.

Rembrandt Peale wrote of the Vaughan-Stuart portrait:

> "It is the first original portrait painted by Stuart in 1795, at the same time that Washington sat to me."

A memorandum found among Stuart's papers after his death reveals the fact that thirty-nine gentlemen had ordered copies of the Vaughan picture. Two were to be sent to Samuel Vaughan, an English merchant; and it is probable that a replica also went to Vaughan's friend, Lord Camperdown. John, a brother of Samuel Vaughan, also had a portrait.

The late Charles Henry Hart wrote, in 1914, referring to this portrait:

> "The Vaughan-Stuart Washington is the first right side of the face I ever saw, and the deep impression it made upon me, now nearly forty years ago, as being the true portrayal of Washington by Gilbert Stuart, has grown and strengthened with time."

The portrait was taken to London in the autumn of 1795, and Thomas Holloway, an English engraver, made a plate therefrom dated November 2, 1796. On Samuel Vaughan's death in 1802, it descended to his son, William Vaughan. Some time after William Vaughan's death in 1850, Joseph Harrison, financier and art collector of Philadelphia, purchased it and brought it to America. On the

[1] Contemporaries of Washington have said that he never wore a wig, but this statement has been contradicted.

death of Joseph Harrison's widow in 1912, which was followed by the sale of his art collection, this celebrated painting was purchased by Thomas B. Clarke, of New York—its present owner. Among owners of Stuart portraits are Secretary Andrew Mellon, Herbert L. Pratt, John Hill Morgan and others.

Stuart's next painting of Washington was the celebrated Lansdowne. It was at the request of Senator and Mrs. Bingham that Washington sat to Stuart on the eleventh of April, 1796, for a portrait to be presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne, long-time true friend of America. Upon the death of the Marquis, this portrait was sold at auction, with other of his personal effects. In 1824 it was disposed of by lottery, bringing two thousand pounds. In 1876 John Delaware Lewis, Esq., M. P., then its owner, permitted the Lansdowne portrait to be exhibited at the National Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia. It is now in the possession of Lord Rosebery of England.

In 1796 Stuart painted his third and last portrait of Washington. It was intended for Mrs. Washington, but that lady's criticism, that it looked unfinished, ruffled the painter's feelings, and he decided to keep it in his own possession, to be used for replicas.[1] In size it was a companion piece to the portrait he painted of Mrs. Washington, and it was doubtless a source of regret to her later that she never owned one of the General's best portraits. This original portrait is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and is known the world over as the Athenæum portrait. (See page 440.)

Stuart is believed to have made one hundred or more replicas of the Athenæum portrait—he mentions seventy-one

[1] Mrs. Washington was sometimes annoyed by the influx of painters. She once said to a friend, Mrs. Charlotte Chambers, that she had never seen a correct likeness of the General, and that the only merit the pictures possessed was their resemblance to each other. In later years Mrs. Washington is said to have been more tolerant of artists. Piqued by Stuart's procrastination, Washington allowed Stuart to keep the original and give him a replica.

—and sold many of them for one hundred dollars each. He may also have made several of the Vaughan and Lansdowne types. The Athenæum bust, however, seems to have been the favorite. This great number of replicas by Stuart and others, in some of which attempts were made to please the popular taste, has resulted in much confusion; and in some of the pictures Washington is scarcely recognizable. Stuart often painted him as older than he was. These divergencies from the original are especially noticeable in the engravings, in which many different conceptions of the subject have been scattered through this and other lands. That there are not more Washington portraits extant, with so much painting, is strange, but fire and time have taken their toll.

George Washington Parke Custis relates that he saw much of Gilbert Stuart in his studio at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, and that he heard him say:

> "I do not pretend to have painted Washington as the General of the Armies of Independence; I knew him not as such. I have painted the First President of the United States."

It was in this studio that President Washington sat for his portraits. It is said that Stuart, inflated with importance, said:

> "Now, Mr. President, forget for a moment that you are President of the United States."

Rapier-like came the swift retort:

> "I'll not forget that I am President; don't you forget that you are a painter."

Stuart was once asked whom Washington most resembled. He answered:

> "No one but himself."

At another time, speaking of Washington, he said:

> "His large eye sockets, his breadth of nose, his compressed mouth and chin, prove that, had he been born a savage, he would have been in truth what the Indian named his great-grandsire — 'Conotocarius' — signifying 'Devourer of Villages.'

Alexander Robertson came to this country in 1791 from Scotland, on the invitation of Dr. Kemp, of Columbia College, and Chancellor Livingston, of New York. The Earl of Buchan gave in his care a small box, four inches long, three broad, and two deep, made of six pieces of the heart of the oak tree that sheltered Sir William Wallace after the battle of Falkirk. This box the Earl of Buchan wished to present to General Washington, with the request for his portrait from the pencil of Mr. Robertson. . . . (In Washington's will he returned the box to the Earl of Buchan.)[1]

When Robertson was ready to execute his commission for the Earl of Buchan, he spent six weeks at the residence of President Washington. He made his first attempt in miniature and in water colors; also a miniature of Mrs. Washington. These he retained, leaving them to remain in his family as heirlooms and memorials of his veneration for the successful champion of American liberty.

In May, 1792, Robertson painted a large portrait of Washington in oil, which was sent to Lord Buchan at Dryburgh Abbey. It was fully indorsed by Washington, and welcomed with cordial approbation by Lord Buchan.

Investigation shows that in 1925 this portrait was still in Scotland. The Earl writes it cannot be found.

Savage had three sittings with Washington. Washington's diary contains three entries for these sittings—December 21 and December 26, 1789, and January 6, 1790. This

[1] The box was returned by the Earl of Buchan to Dr. Rush and was finally stolen.

portrait (page 488) is now at Harvard College. Savage had another sitting in 1776.

In 1779, at the request of John Jay, Washington sat to Pierre Eugene du Simitière, in Philadelphia, for a profile in black lead. The artist says of this sitting:

> "The General condescended, with great good nature, to sit about three-quarters of an hour for the above likeness, having but little time to spend, being the last day of his stay in town."

In the winter of 1790 Washington gave a number of sittings to his old friend and former aide-de-camp, Colonel John Trumbull, for a full-length portrait. The result was a magnificent painting of Washington, posed beside his white charger. A copy of this picture, with the Battery in the background, hangs in the City Hall, New York, and another is at Charleston, South Carolina.

Many of the later portraits of Washington show traces of illness and anxiety. Among them is the "Masonic" portrait by William Williams, of Philadelphia;[1] and the pencil sketch by Latrobe (see page 461).

James Sharples, born in England in 1761, came to America in 1796, and did several portraits of Washington, as well as an admirable profile in crayon in 1797—one of the last sittings Washington ever gave. He also did a crayon profile of Mrs. Washington at the same time. Of these portraits he made several copies. Sharples did no work in oil.[2] Mrs. Sharples copied the portrait of Washington, in water colors. The originals of these portraits (see pages 484–485) are at Arlington House. Sharples died in New York City Feb. 26, 1811. He is buried in the Duane Street graveyard.

Thousands of Americans, following Lafayette's example,

[1] Now in the Alexandria-Washington Lodge, Alexandria, Va. (Refer to page 461.) Williams obtained his sittings through the influence of the Lodge and General Henry Lee.

[2] No oil portrait by this artist has been proved.

have journeyed to Richmond, Va., to view in marble the Washington whom Lafayette knew in the flesh. Congress having failed to put into tangible effect its vote to erect an equestrian statue of the man who saved the nation, Virginia —Washington's native State—patriotically voted one thousand guineas for a statue, and commissioned Franklin and Jefferson, then in Paris, to arrange with the great French sculptor, Jean Antoine Houdon, to make the statue. Houdon refused to accept for his model the portrait by Charles Willson Peale sent for his guidance, deciding that a personal visit to America was necessary. Leaving unfilled the orders of several irate patrons—some of whom were royal and all wealthy—he sailed for America in 1785, reaching Alexandria, Va., on the fifth of October. Washington records the arrival in his diary:

> "October. After we were in bed, about eleven o'clock, Mr. Houdon, sent from Paris by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson, to take my bust in behalf of the State of Virginia, with three young men assisting, arrived here. . . .
>
> "October 7. Sat this day, as I had done yesterday, to form my bust."

Four years elapsed before the statue was completed, and eleven years before it was shipped. In 1796 it was placed in the new Capitol at Richmond. (See page 508 *et seq.*)[1] There appears to be no record of Washington having seen the Houdon statue, though it was erected three years before his death.

The Houdon statue is generally accepted as the world's most accurate likeness in marble of Washington's features,[2]

[1] Among the leading cities having copies of this famous statue are New York (in the Metropolitan Museum of Art), Boston (in the Athenæum) and London. The New York copy was formerly on Riverside Drive.

[2] It is recorded that upon one occasion when Washington's face noticeably lighted up, it was due to his indignation at a horse dealer who ventured to impugn his knowledge of values in horseflesh; but the sculptor delightedly transferred the

expression and bearing. The sculptor made a life mask of Washington, and, during the several weeks spent in the General's company, studied him under varied conditions.

Innumerable statues, busts and monuments have been created by admiring artists and patriotic munificence in memory of the illustrious Washington. Many of them are illustrated in these pages. To enumerate all, and give even scant recognition to each, would require an additional volume.[1]

The first monument to Washington erected in the Old North Church, Boston, was presented by Shubael Bell, assistant to Asa Eaton, the first organizer of Sunday Schools in America.

It is said that the artist-adventurer, Winstanley, whom Stuart employed to deliver his portrait of Washington at the White House, substituted a poor portrait of his own, and kept Stuart's. Stuart later rectified the artist's duplicity by sending a replica from his own hand.

Kennelmyre, an itinerant artist, sketched Washington reviewing the Maryland troops at Cumberland, October 2,[2] 1794. This was given by A. S. Boteler of Virginia, grandson of C. W. Peale, to the Hon. Thomas Donaldson of Idaho.

Mrs. Beverley Kennon of Georgetown, D. C., great-granddaughter of Martha Washington, has a small miniature of Martha Washington.

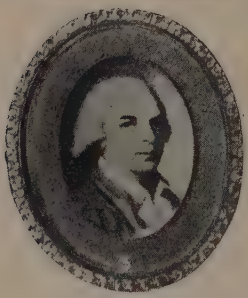
Eccleston, a young Virginia artist, in 1796 modeled Washington's head from life; its later history is unknown.

General's animated expression to marble. Failure to give Houdon the order for the equestrian statue of Washington passed by Congress was a disappointment to the famous French sculptor.

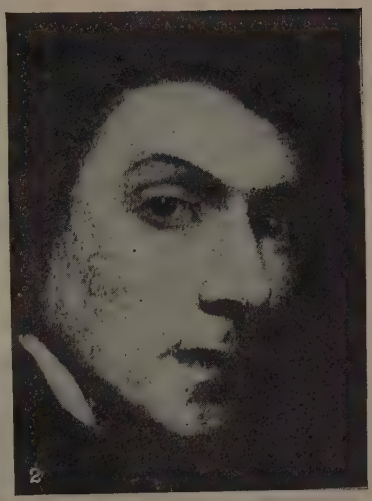
[1] Reference to the Washington Monument, in Washington, D. C., will be found on page 551.

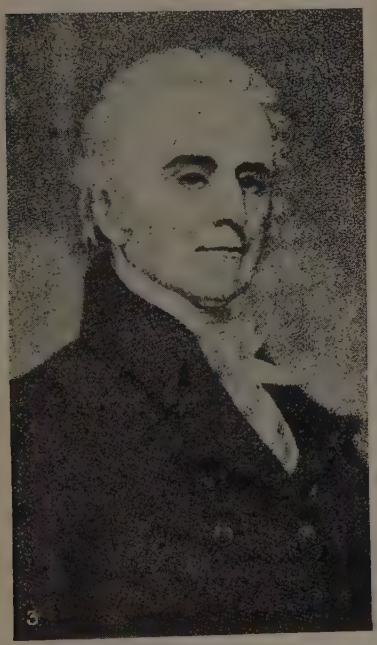
[2] The author has a photograph of a painting attributed to Charles Willson Peale, showing Washington at Cumberland in 1754, surveying his troops on his return from visiting Governor Shirley in Boston.

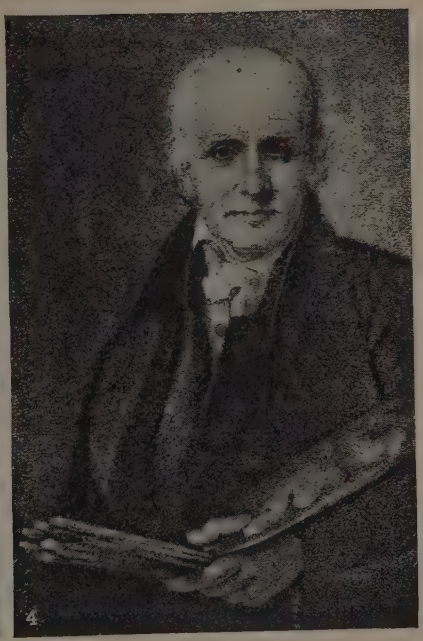
LEADING ARTISTS WHO PAINTED WASHINGTON FROM LIFE



1. Rembrandt Peale.
2. St. Mémin.
3. Edward Savage.
4. James Peale.
5. Archibald Robertson.







1. Portrait of Houdon, French sculptor. 2. Portrait of Gilbert Stuart.
3. Portrait of John Trumbull. 4. Portrait of Charles Willson Peale.

Joseph Wright and Family.

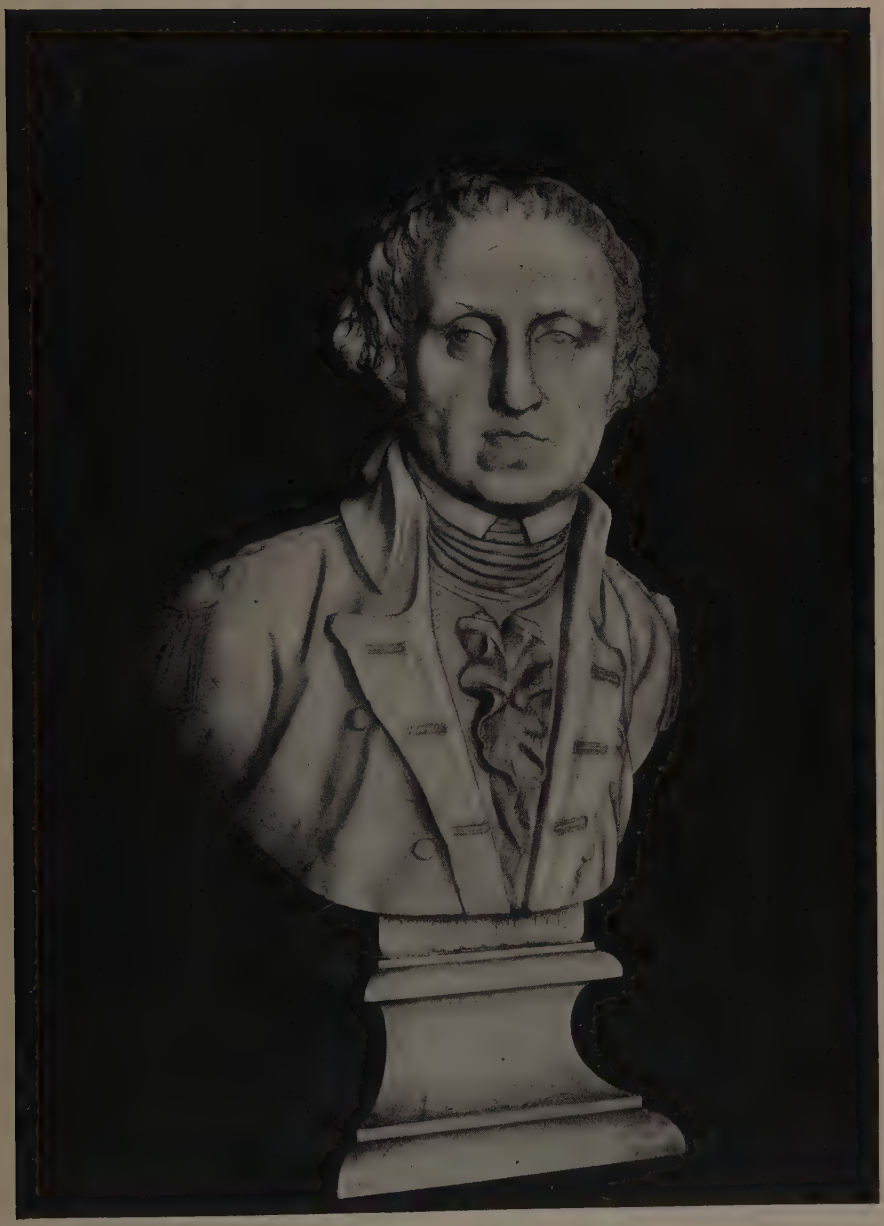
Though the search has been wide, no portrait of James Sharples or of Robert Edge Pine has been found.

For some of the information herein, the author is indebted to Houghton Mifflin Company and the volume by Elizabeth B. Johnson.

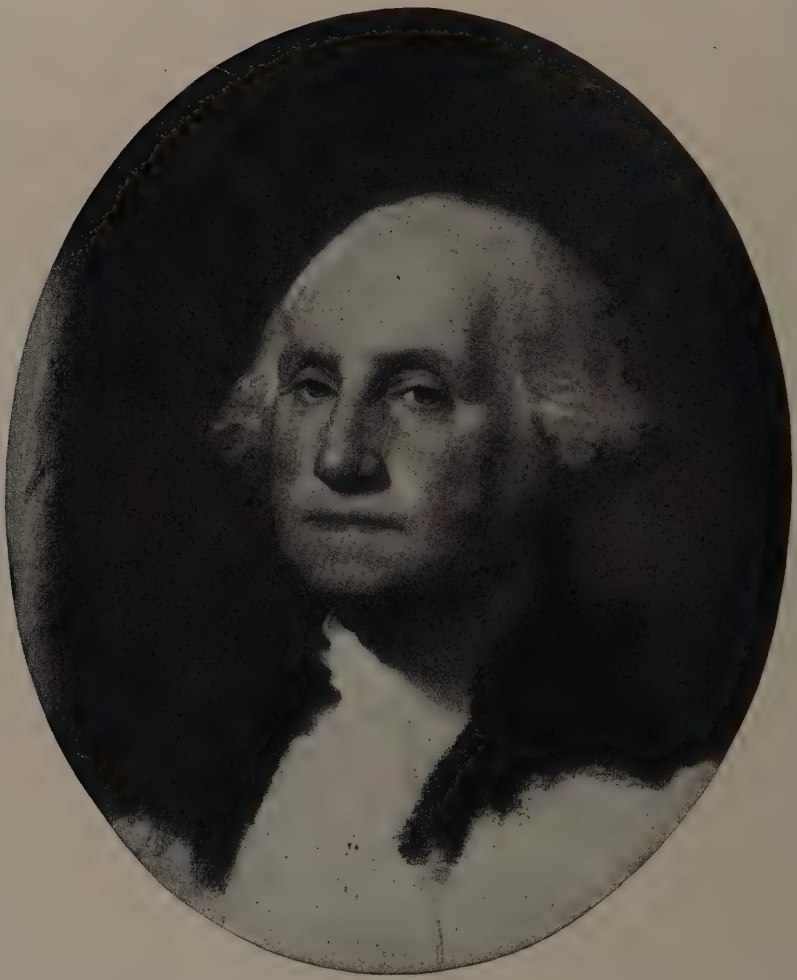
The clay and chisel of the sculptor, the brush or pencil of the artist, and the steel of the engraver have been busy for over a century in portraying in marble, and on canvas, parchment or paper, and again on marble or metal, the features and form of our First American. The forty or so who worked from life, having the rare experience of gazing from Washington's face to the easel, have eagerly seized this vantage ground to make replicas, while the long line of copyists have sought to gather laurels from the efforts of the "first-handers." The result has been occasional controversy among connoisseurs as to originals and "first" and "last" portraits.

The two hundred and fifty portraits of Washington here shown are intended to form an abridged encyclopedia of important portraits and sculptures.

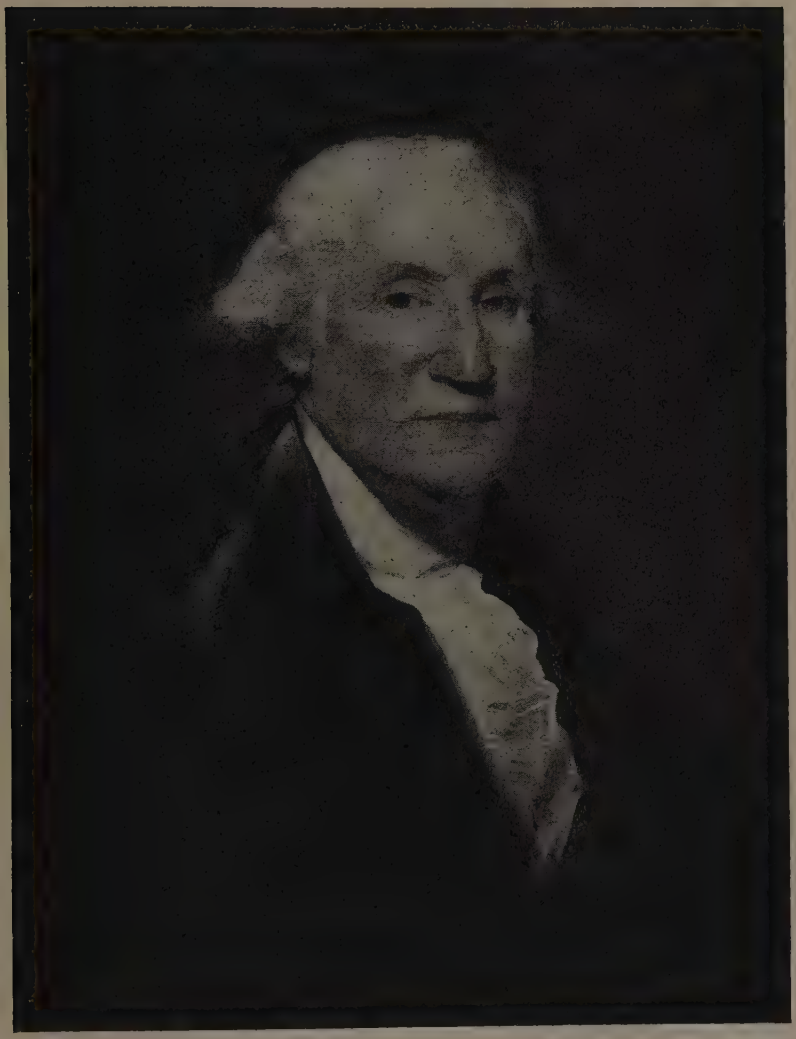
Profile and full face of a Washington attributed to Houdon never before published. Their and



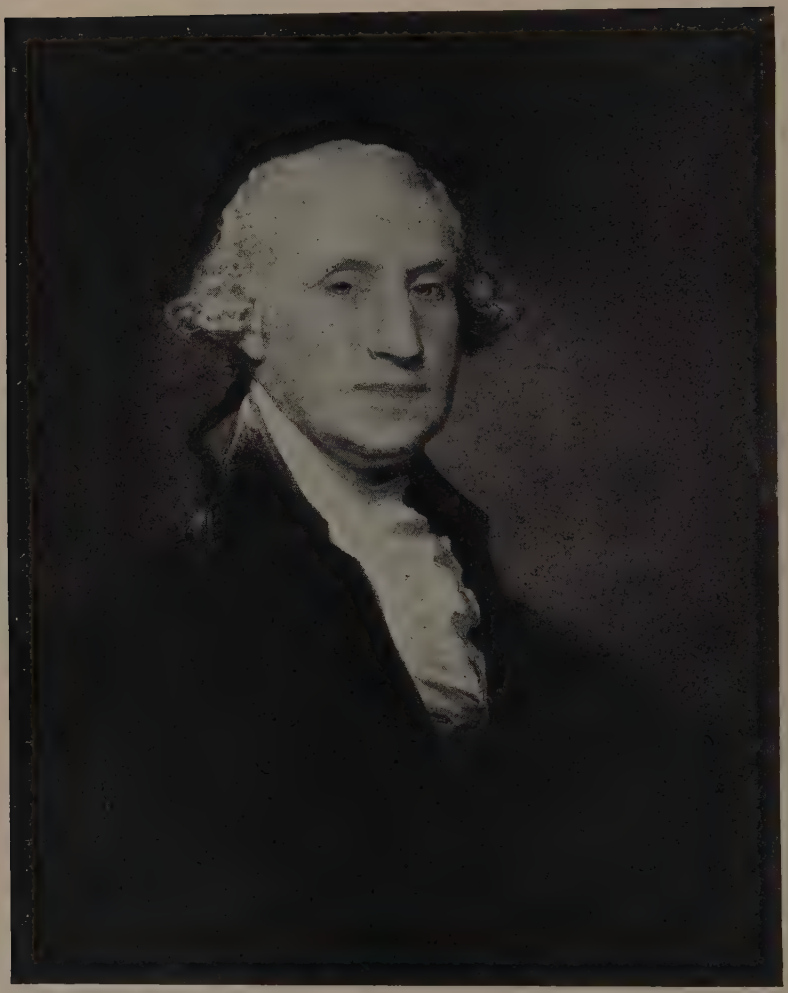
authenticity is indorsed by Georges Giacometti of Paris, expert for the French Government courts.



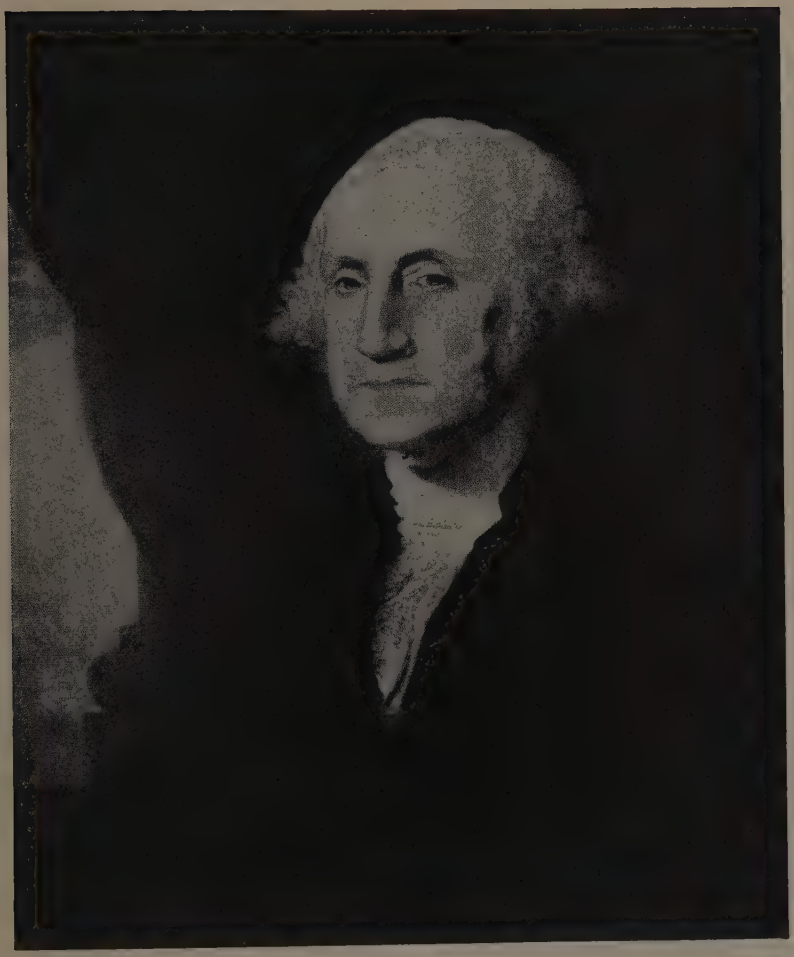
The Athenæum portrait by Gilbert Stuart now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for years hung in Gilbert Stuart's home on Fort Hill, Boston. After his death it was purchased by leading citizens and presented to the City of Boston, Massachusetts.



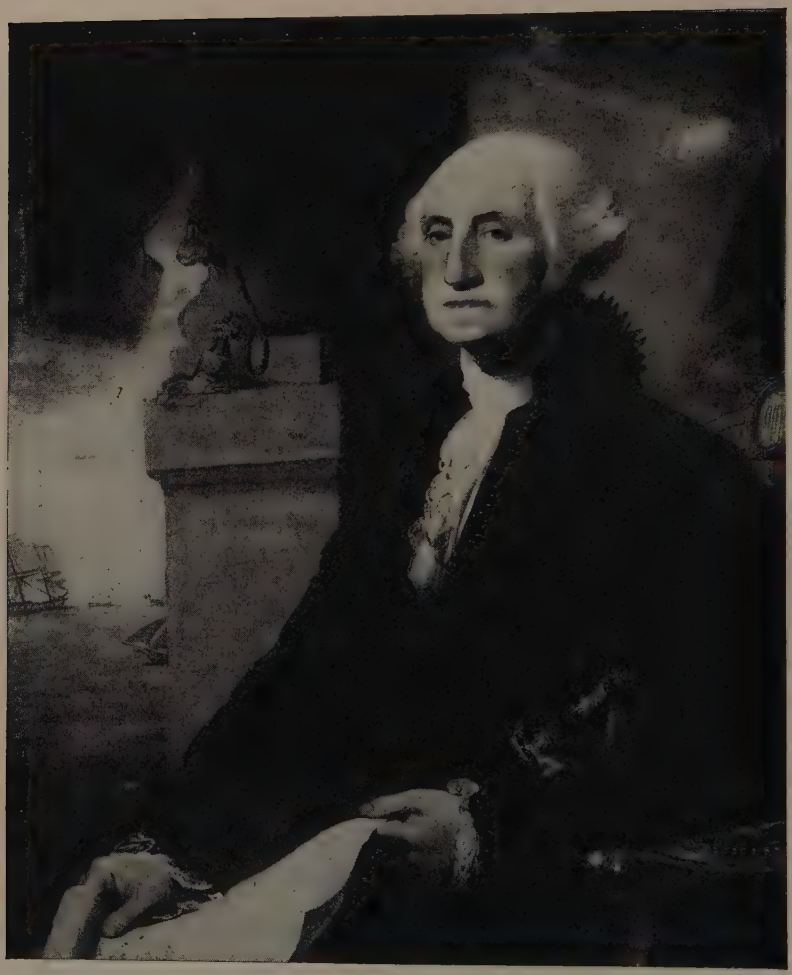
The Stuart portrait of Washington, known as the Vaughan-Harrison-Clarke.
Courtesy of Thomas B. Clarke.



Stuart's Washington, showing right side of face.
Courtesy of Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury.



Stuart portrait, showing left side of face.
University of Washington, Washington, D. C.

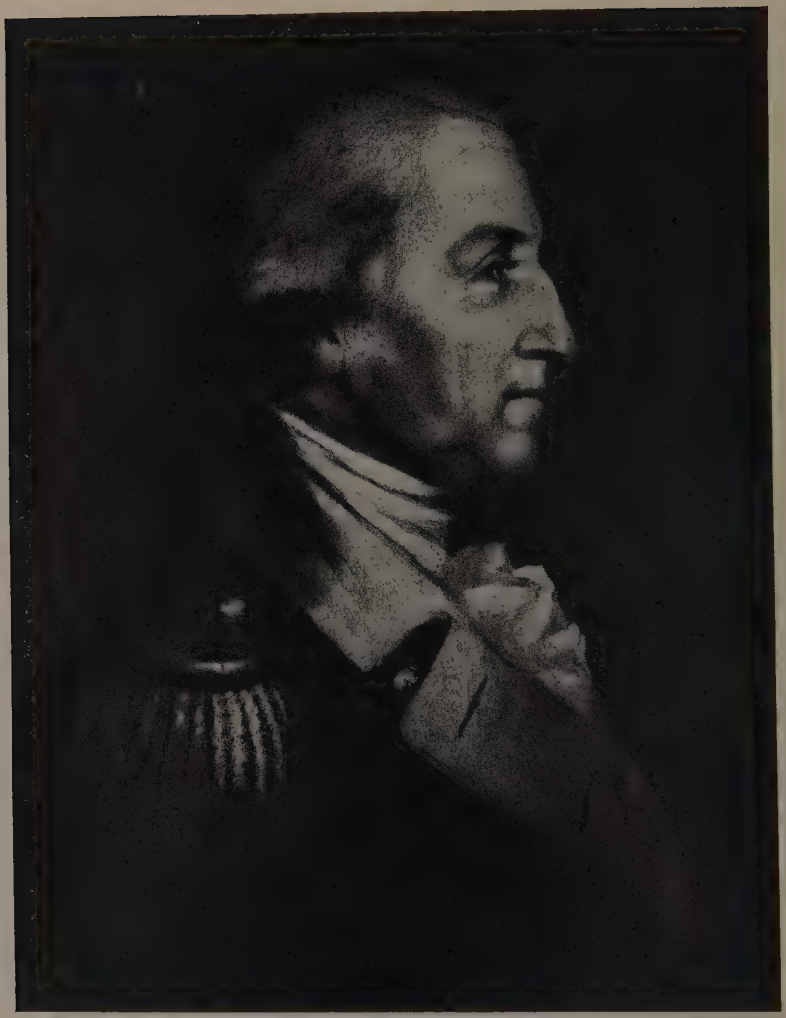


The Alexander Hamilton portrait, in the New York Public Library.

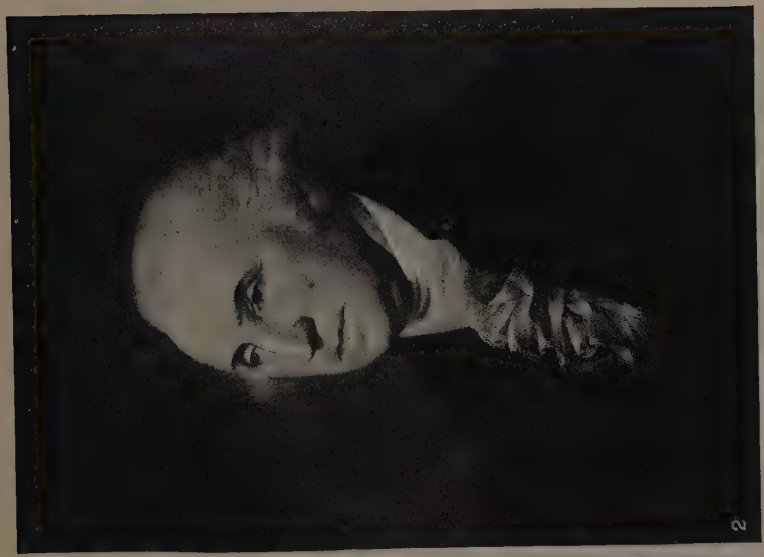
The following seven portraits are owned by Mr. Herbert L. Pratt, of New York City, through whose courtesy they are here published. *The two on this page were painted by Gilbert Stuart.*

1

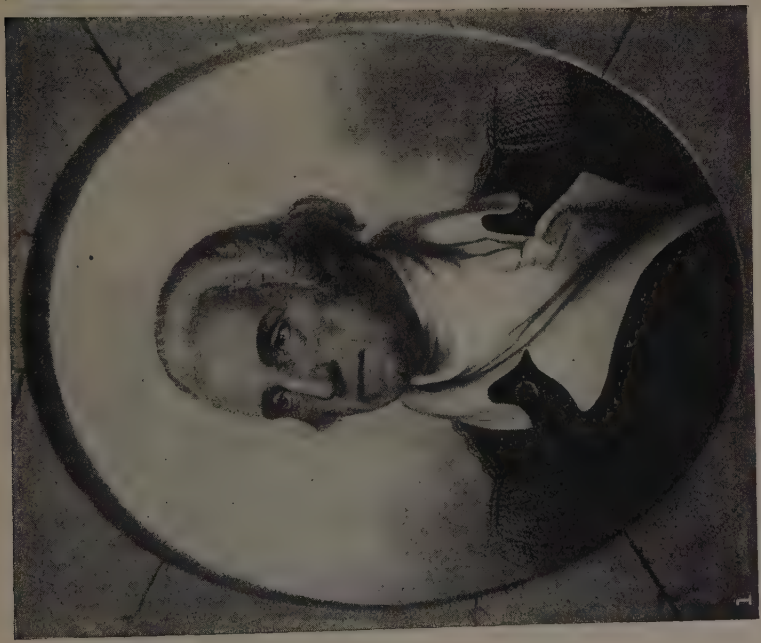
2



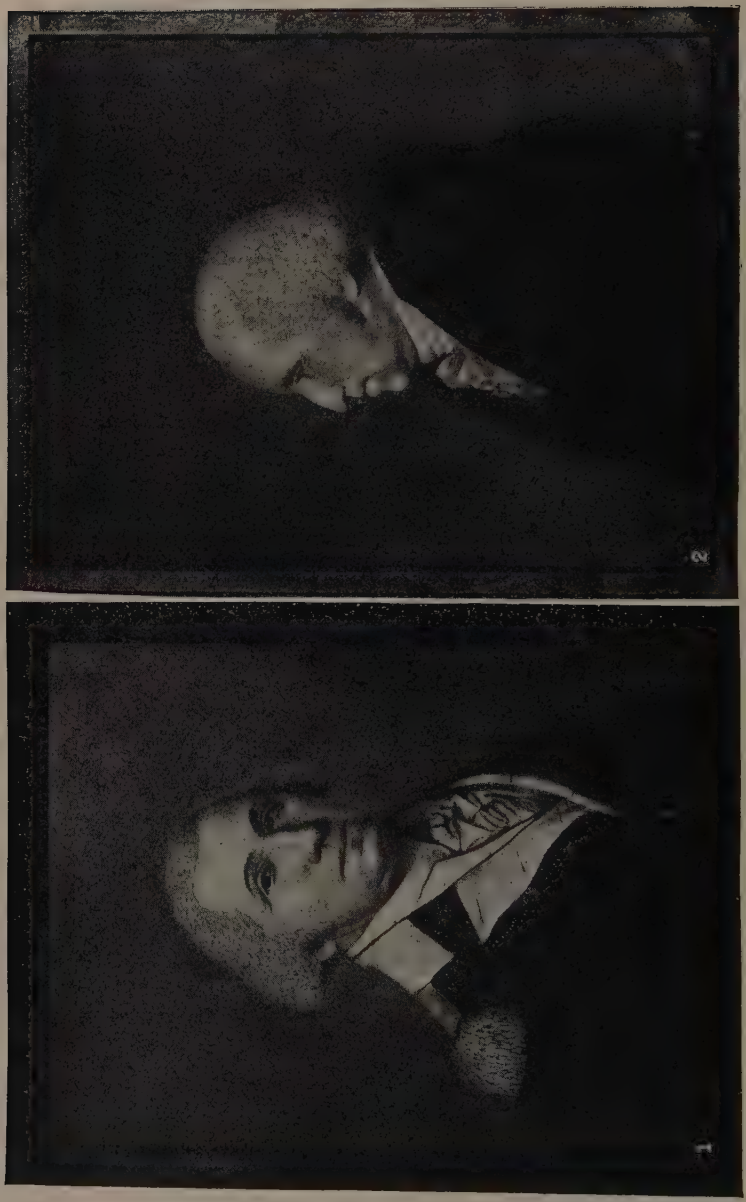
The Joseph Wright Washington.
Courtesy of Herbert L. Pratt.



Washington, by Charles Willson Peale.
Courtesy of Herbert L. Pratt.



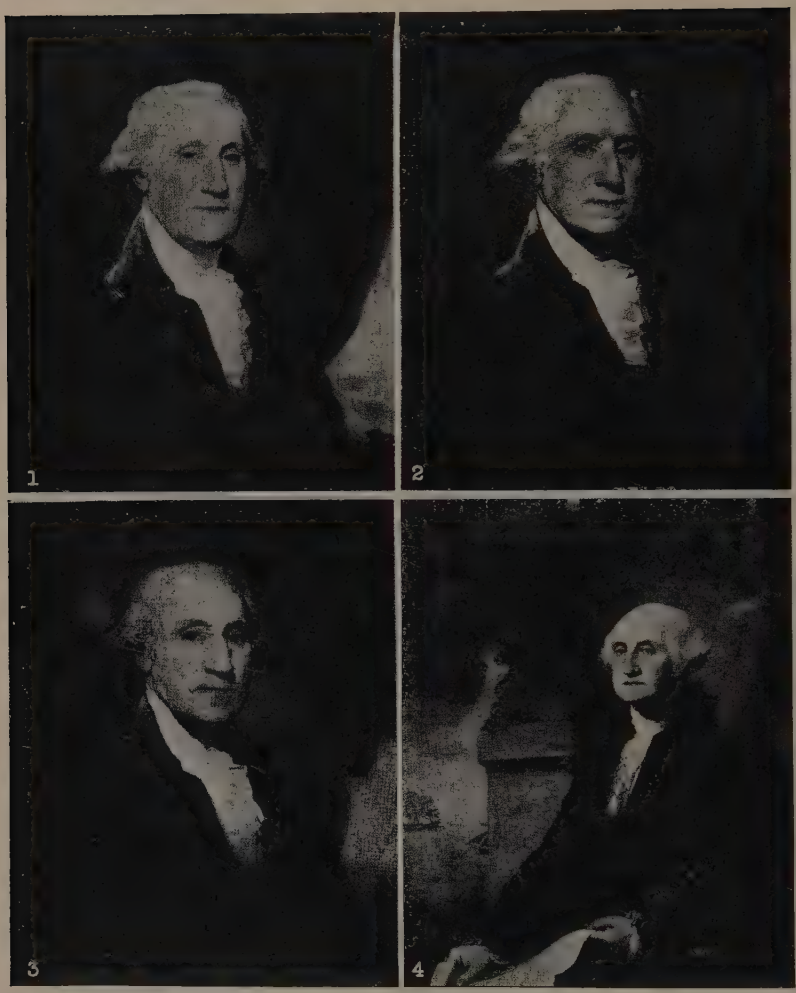
Rembrandt-Peale Washington.
Port-hole type.
Courtesy of Herbert L. Pratt.



The James Sharples Washington. *Courtesy of Herbert L. Pratt.*

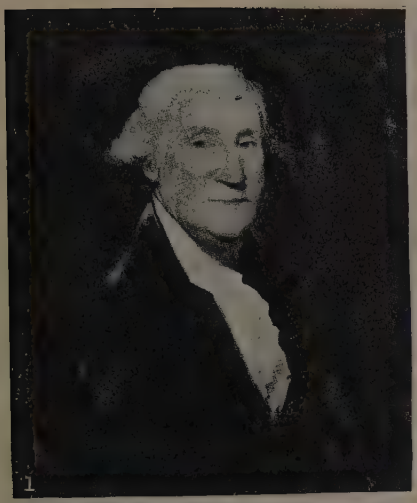
The Maurice Heckscher Stuart.
Courtesy of the owner.

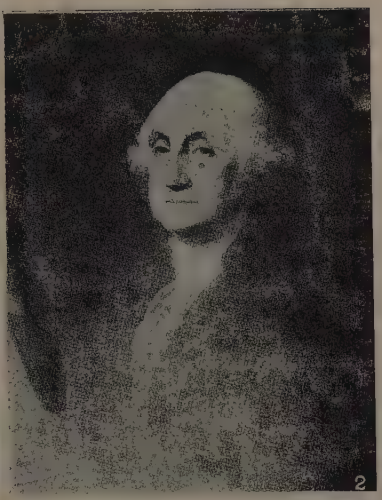
Stuart portrait of Washington in the Masonic Lodge at Fredericksburg, Va. *Courtesy Miss Helen Frick.*

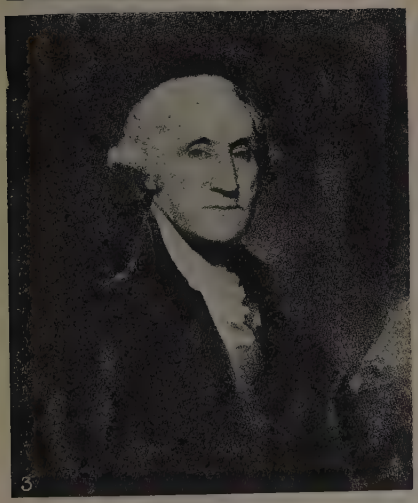


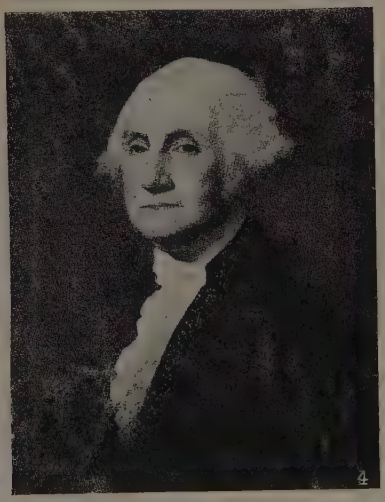
1. Camperdown replica.
2. The Scott-Lancaster-Riley-Munn. Possibly made before the Gibbs-Channing.
3. The Kitchen-Perry-Meeker portrait, in Chicago.
4. The Constable half-length portrait, originally given to Alexander Hamilton; now in New York Public Library.

Arranged by Gustavus A. Eisen.







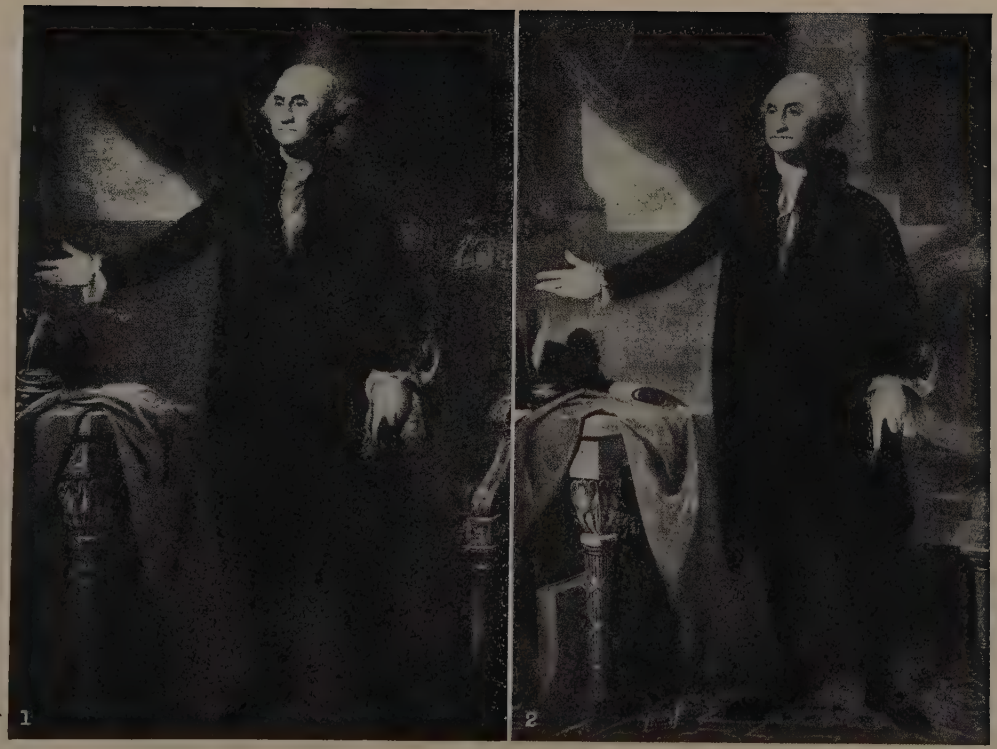


1. The Vaughan-Clarke portrait, by Gilbert Stuart, painted September, 1795. *Courtesy of Thomas B. Clarke.* (See note 2, page 453.)

2. Left side portrait, begun April 12, 1795. This model served for the Lansdowne portrait, now in England. It is in the Brook Club, New York City.

3. The Gibbs-Channing portrait, by Gilbert Stuart. Now in Metropolitan Museum of Art. Formerly owned by S. P. Avery. (See note 1, page 453.)

4. The Havemeyer-Athenæum replica; in Metropolitan Museum of Art.



1. Copy of full length Stuart-Lansdowne; owned by Mrs. Eugene Pomeroy of Washington, D. C.
2. Stuart-Lansdowne; head from Stuart's second picture; figure modelled after W. R. Smith; hand after wax cast of Stuart's; Stuart had but one sitting for this portrait.

The Stuart-Lansdowne is now owned by Lord Rosebery.

1–2. Stuart-Lansdowne types.

In the New York Public Library; known as the Teapot type. These were engraved by both Hill and Ritchie.

William Bingham had one replica of the Lansdowne; the second was made for Gardner Baker, from whom it passed to Thomas Laing, and is said to be in the East Room of the White House. Still another copy is in the State House, Newport, R. I., and one in Providence, R. I. Samuel Parkman of Boston presented a Stuart replica to that city, and it is now in Faneuil Hall. There is another in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A copy of the Stuart Lansdowne was made by Jane, daughter of Gilbert Stuart.

The three important original Stuart portraits are the Vaughan, the Lansdowne (today owned by Lord Rosebery), and the Athenæum.

Stuart engravings outnumber five times those of any other artist.

Cabinet size painted 1810 for I. P. Davis; was original study for Faneuil Hall portrait. Belongs to Ignatius Sargent of Brookline, Mass.

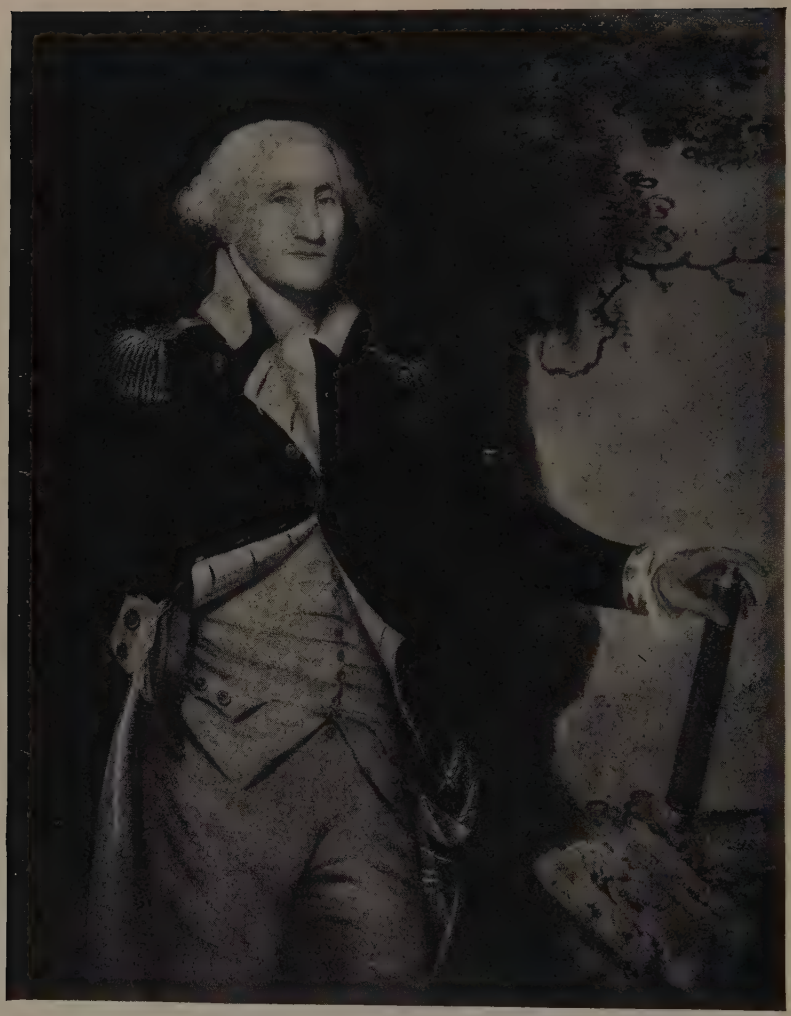
The only full-length cabinet by Stuart belongs to George F. Meredith, London.

Note 1

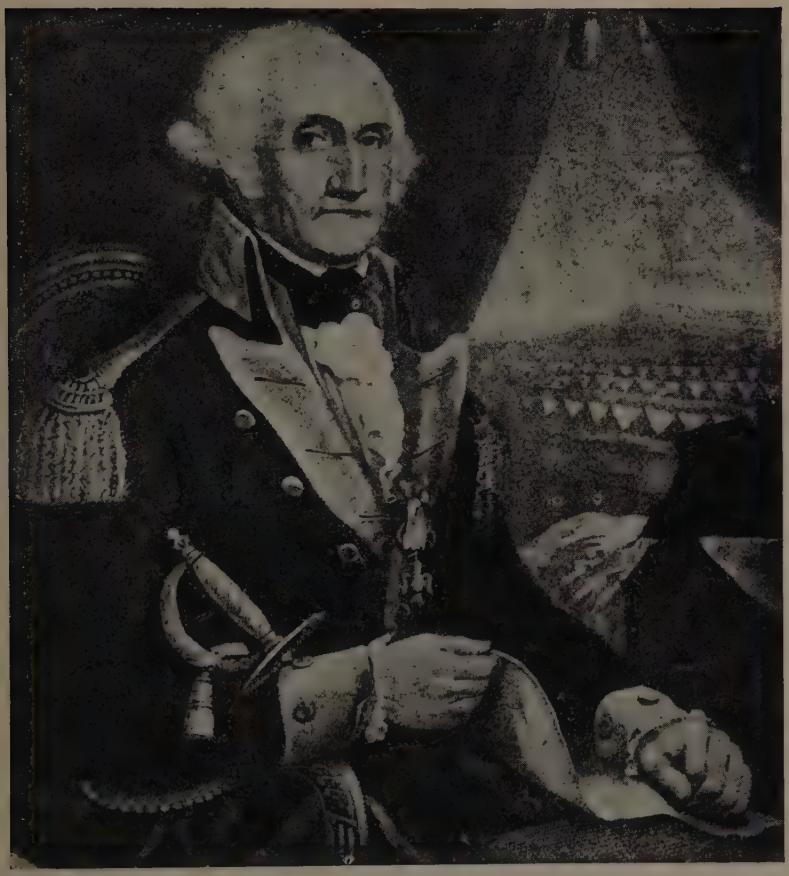
Dr. Wm. F. Channing of Providence, R. I., owns a copy of the Gibbs-Channing portrait; another copy belongs to Francis Robert Rives of New York; another to Mrs. Thomas H. Morris of Baltimore; this is the fifth portrait, with head to the left.

Note 2

Mrs. Anna R. Reilly, a great-great-granddaughter of General Hand, owns a copy of the first Stuart portrait.



The Speyer-Stuart Washington.
Courtesy of James Speyer.

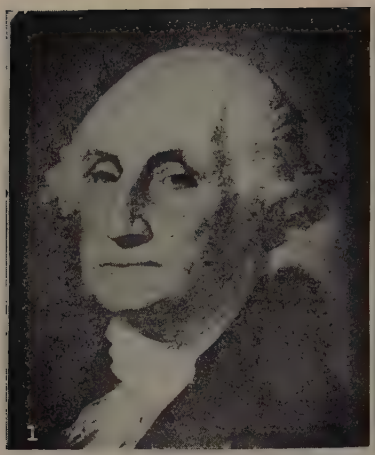


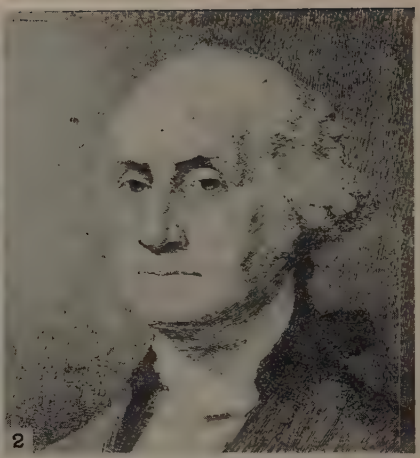
Washington, Gilbert Stuart type. F. Bartholdi.

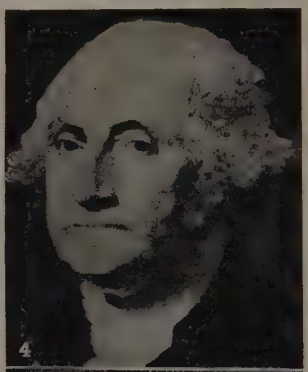
England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland, all contributed aspirants for artistic honors by painting Washington, and these, together with American artists, kept the great man busy refusing sittings or yielding with reluctance.

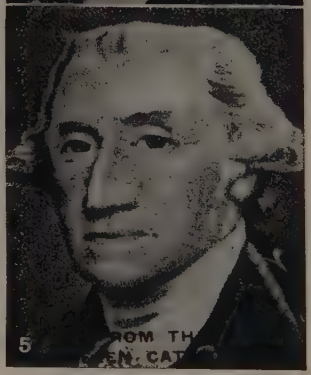
This palette of Gilbert Stuart is owned by the artist, J. L. G. Ferris, having been presented to his father by the artist, Christian Schussels. It is believed the Athenæum portrait was painted from this palette. *Courtesy of J. L. G. Ferris.*

Gilbert Stuart's stable on Main Street, Germantown, where he painted the Washington portraits.

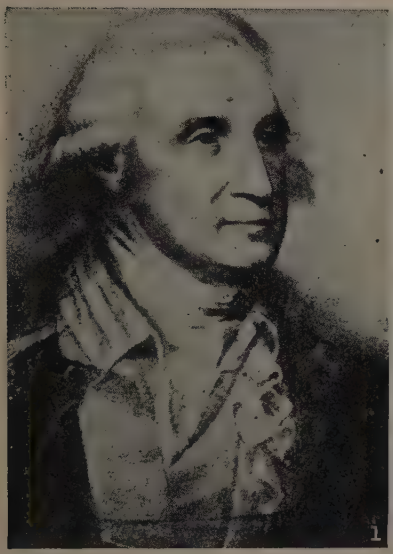


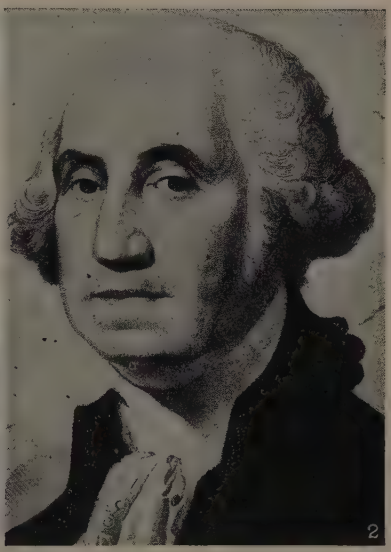




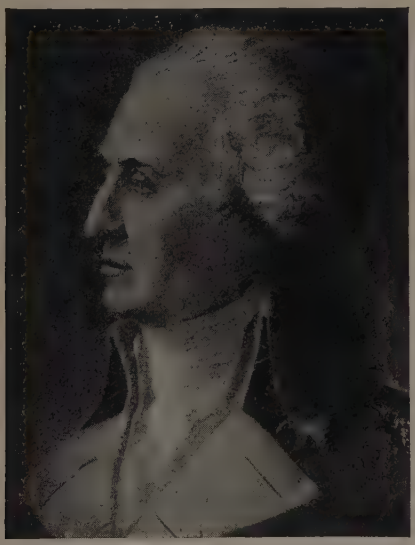


1-2. Replicas after Stuart.
3. Stuart replica. Tea-pot type.
4. Stuart replica.
5. By D. Edwin.

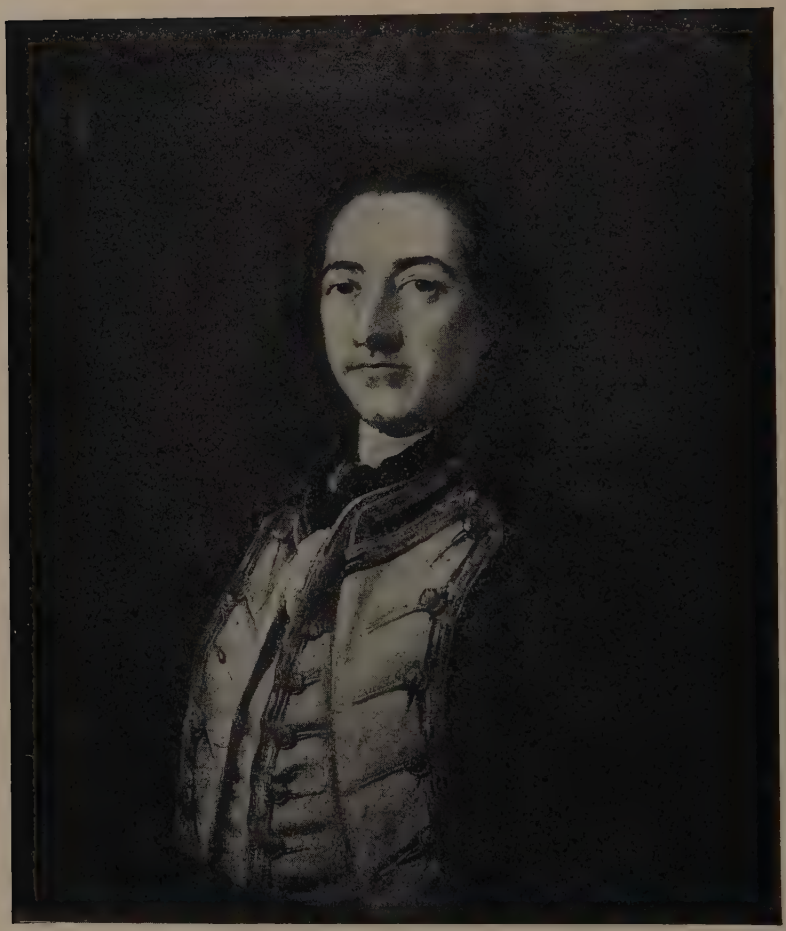




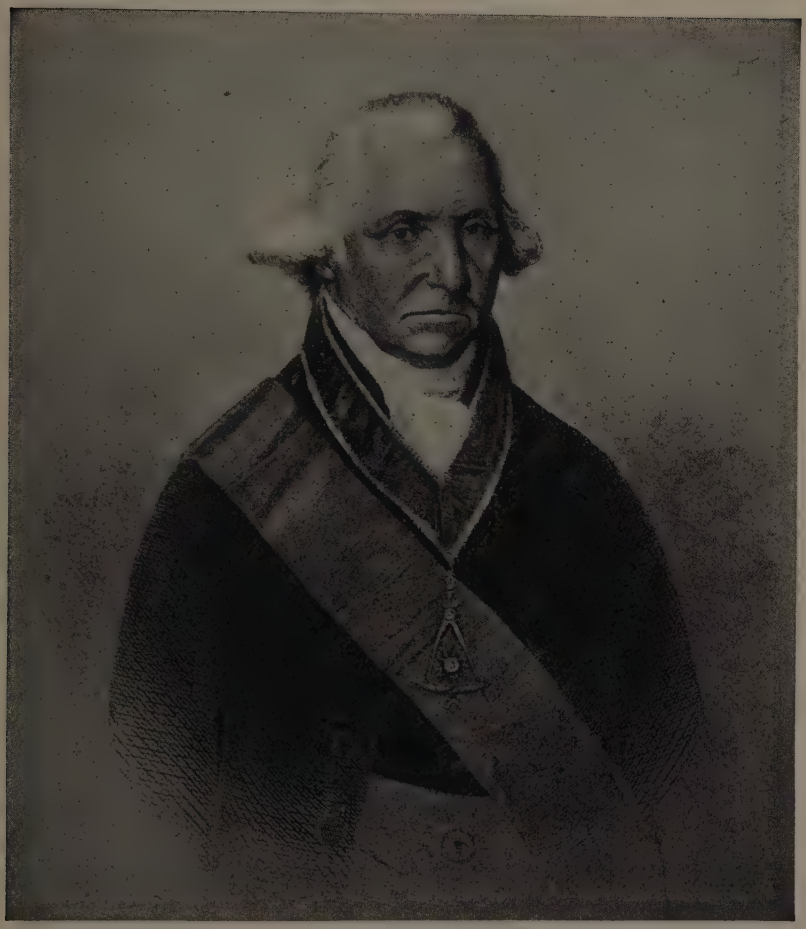
1. A composite Washington, which includes Trumbull, Savage, Pine, Houdon, Gulager. 2. Stuart type.



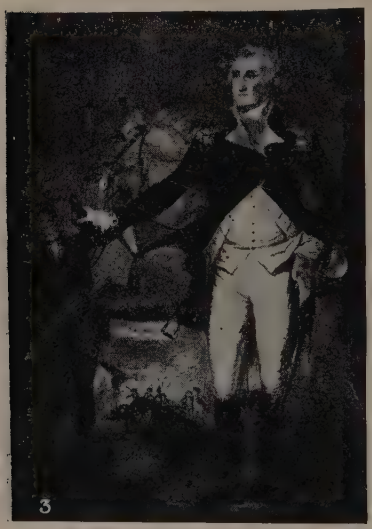
Attributed to James Peale. *Courtesy of De Lancey Kountze.*

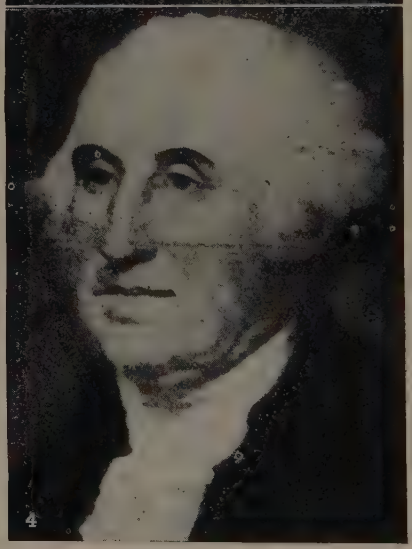


Portrait of Washington attributed to Wollaston, claimed to have been painted in New York in 1756. At one time owned by George William Fairfax in England.



Portrait by William Williams of Philadelphia, showing Washington in advancing age and with smallpox marks. Indorsed by many of Washington's old friends and neighbors as an excellent likeness. It is of special value to the Masonic order, and permission to use it was given by Alexandria-Washington Lodge No. 22, A. F. & A. M.





1. By Colonel John Trumbull. *Engraved by John Rogers.* Owned by Yale University.

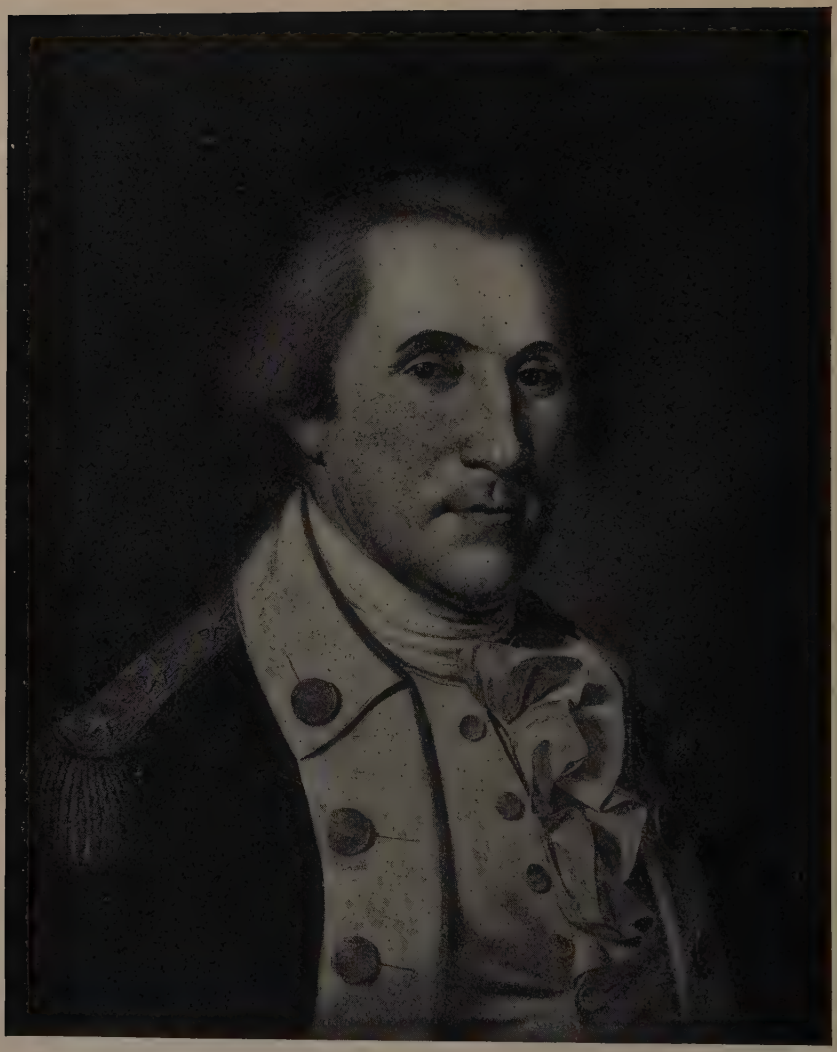
2. Original, by John Trumbull; hangs in the Governor's room, New York City Hall. Battery shown in the distance. Owned also by Edmund Law Rogers, of Baltimore. (Washington posed beside this white charger for the painting.)

3. Replica of the Yale University painting.

4. Replica from original, by Colonel John Trumbull.

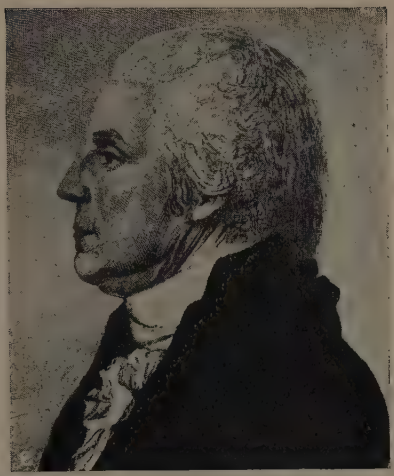
Paint box carried by John Trumbull throughout the Revolution. Formerly owned by Thomas Sully, and obtained by the present owner, J. L. G. Ferris, from Dr. Tees, executor of the Frederick de B. Richards estate. *Courtesy of J. L. G. Ferris. Philadelphia, Pa*

John Trumbull's transfer from an aide-de-camp on Washington's staff to the staff of General Gates may have occasioned his resignation from the army. At all events, he is found studying in London under West. Arrested, he boldly declared, when called before the court, that he had been an aide on the staff of the rebel General. This caused his confinement in the Tower for about eight months. West saved his life by a direct appeal to the king.



George Washington, 1778. *Charles Willson Peale. Courtesy of John Hill Morgan, the owner.*

This replica was sold to the Dutch consul in 1789. The original was painted in uniform in 1787 by Charles Willson Peale in order that Peale might draw a mezzotint therefrom. Both Washington and Peale refer to the original in their diaries. A replica is in the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond, Va. (See page 476 for original in Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Replicas are in the Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, and in the Metropolitan Museum, New York City.)

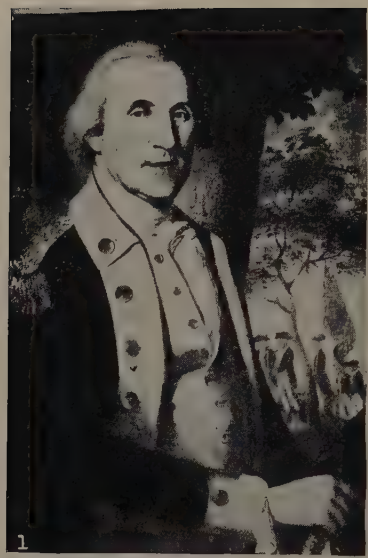


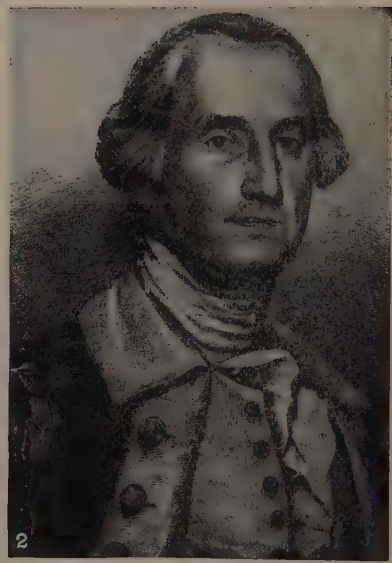
1. Miniature, by James Peale, 1788. In Pennsylvania Historical Society. Owned by the Artillery Company of the Washington Grays.

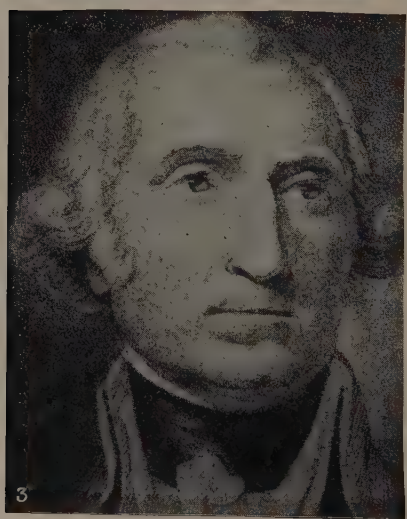
2. By James Peale, in 1796, from the original in possession of the late Charles Henry Hart.

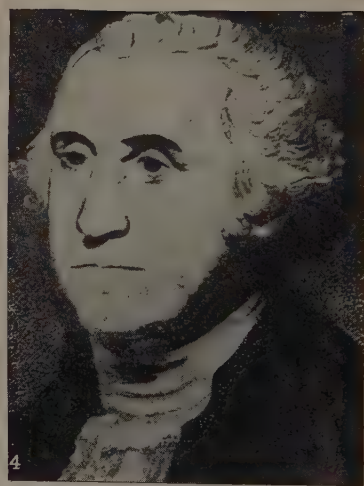
3. By James Peale, in New York Public Library. Replica in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. Once owned by Chas. S. Ogden, Philadelphia.

4. Washington as a Virginia colonel. By C. W. Peale, in 1772. (See note, page 467.)

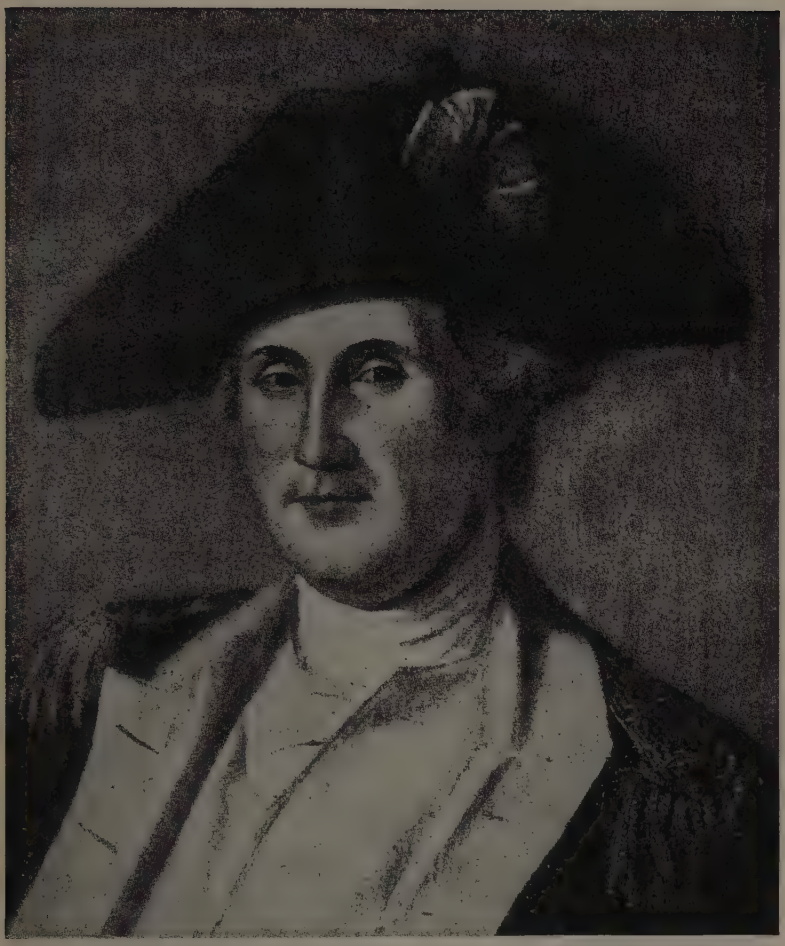






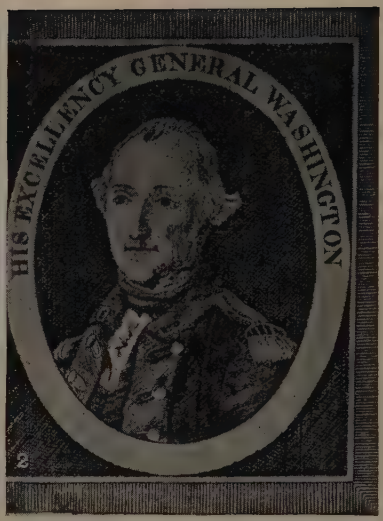


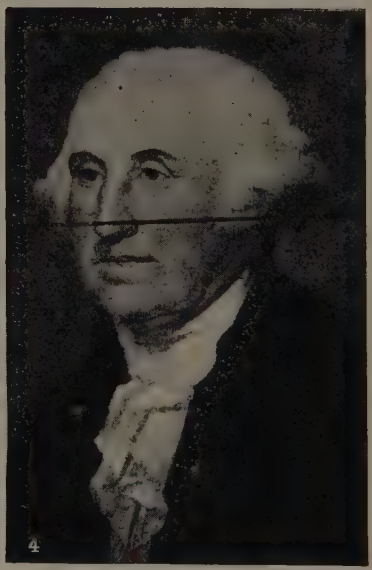
1. Portrait by James Peale. Similar replica, including horse and attendant whose face is that of James Peale, owned by Luke Vincent Lockwood, N. Y. C. 2. Etching of Wright portrait, by Albert Rosenthal. Owned by the Powell family, of Newport, R. I. 3. Platinotype, by C. S. Bradford, from the only known print in the Phillips collection. 4. Extremely rare portrait by Rembrandt Peale. Published by H. H. Tanner, of Philadelphia, Pa.



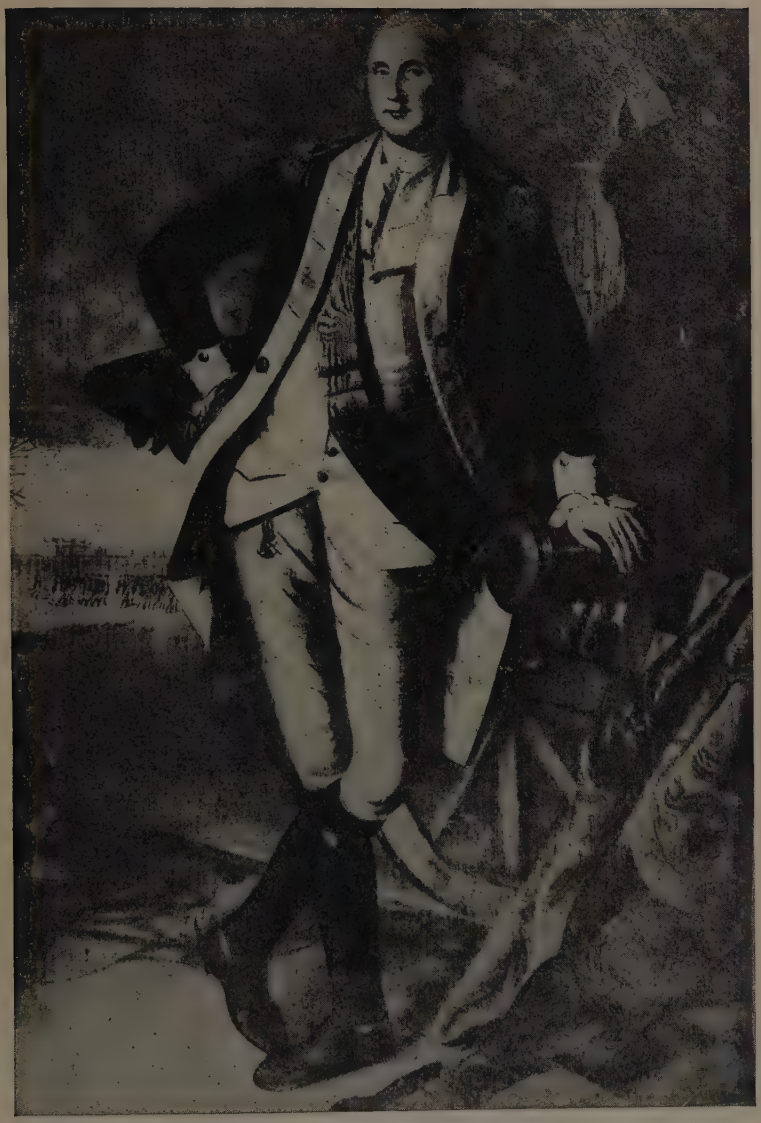
Painted at Valley Forge by Charles Willson Peale. From *McClure's Magazine.* © *C. S. Bradford, Westchester, Pa.* Original the property of State Normal School, Westchester, Pa.

Painted in ten days. Canvas 40 x 50. Washington paid the artist some eighteen pounds. The silver gorget is in the Boston Historical Society, and it is said that the ribbon by which it was worn about Washington's neck at Monongahela is still on it. Owned by the late George Washington Parke Custis Lee. (See page 465.)





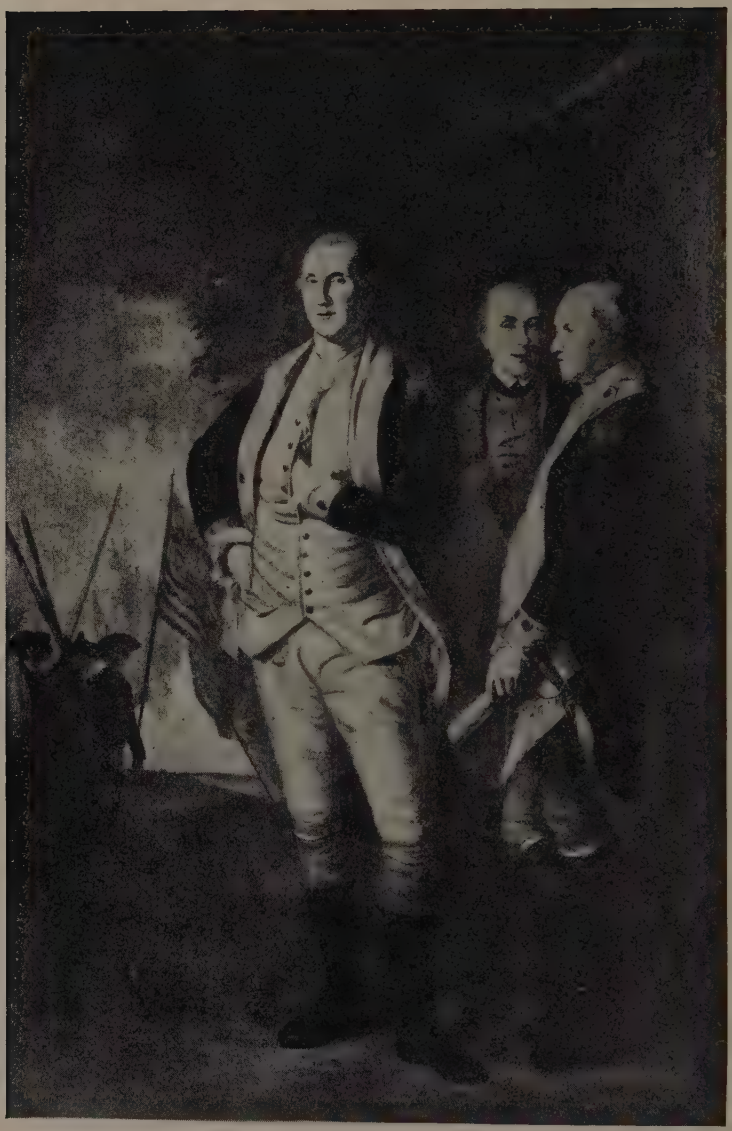
1. Charles Willson Peale type, extremely rare.
2. Charles Willson Peale type, extremely rare.
3. Drawn by Samuel Folwell, Philadelphia painter, in 1790. Filled with India ink. Owned by Miss Cuthbert. Given by Col. Wm. Washington to James Henry Stevens.
4. Rembrandt Peale type; collection James J. Mitchell, Philadelphia, Pa.



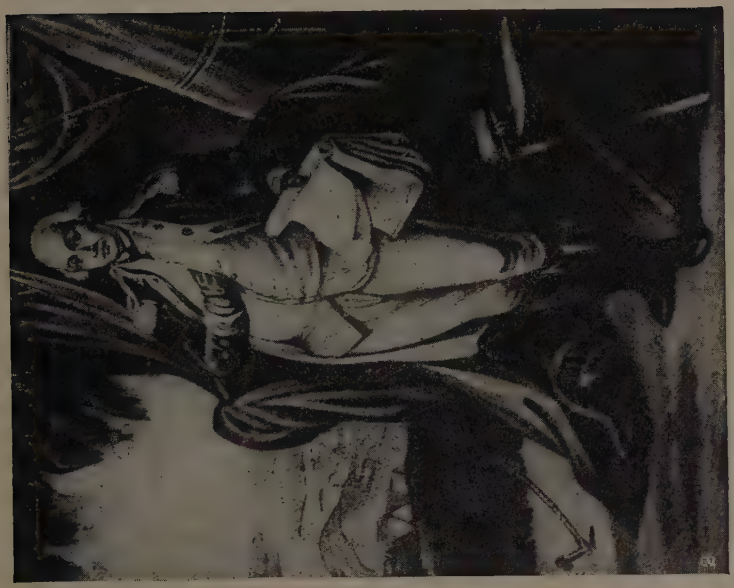
Originally presented by Washington to the French King, Louis XVI.

Represents Washington on the College Campus at Princeton, with English flags at his feet. Owned by the late Charles A. Munn. *Painted by C. W. Peale.*

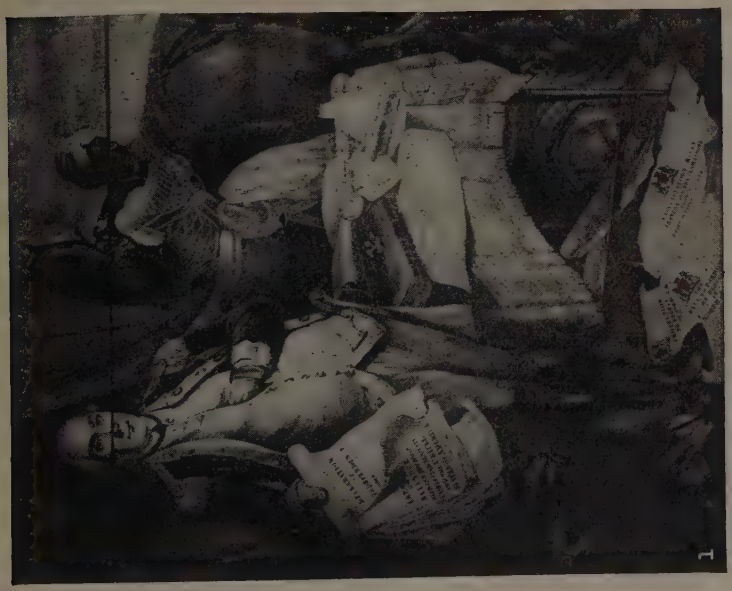
The original is in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, a replica in the Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, also in the Metropolitan Museum, New York City.



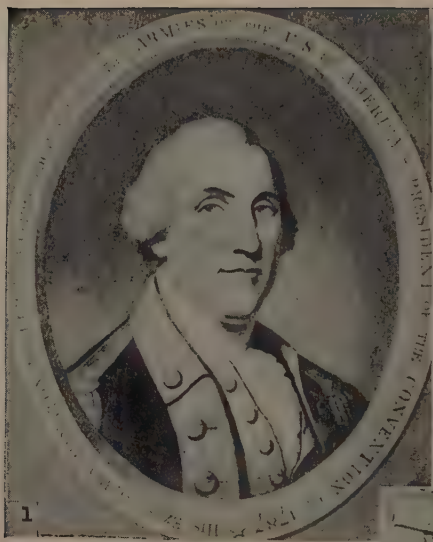
Portrait of Washington in the Capitol building, Annapolis. Lafayette and Tilghman are shown in the background. *By Charles W. Peale.*



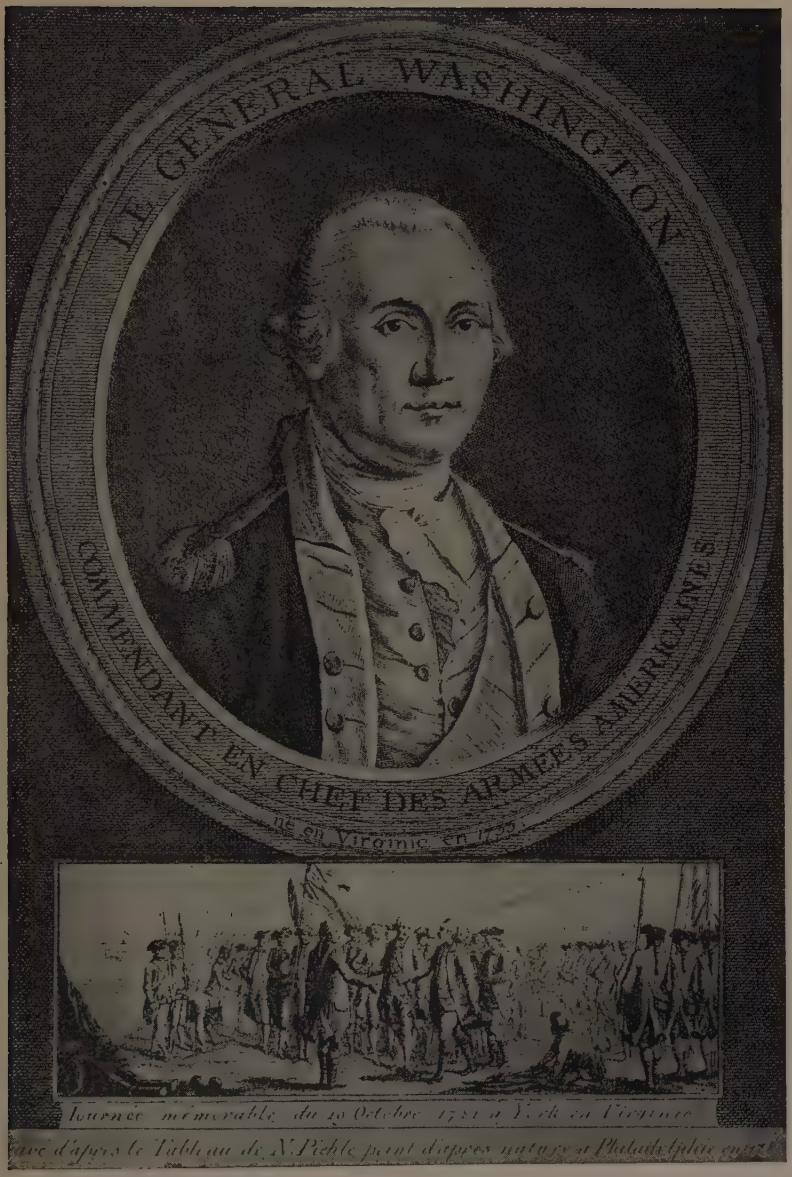
2. C. W. Peale type. Carson collection. Published June 16, 1797, by Haines & Son, London.



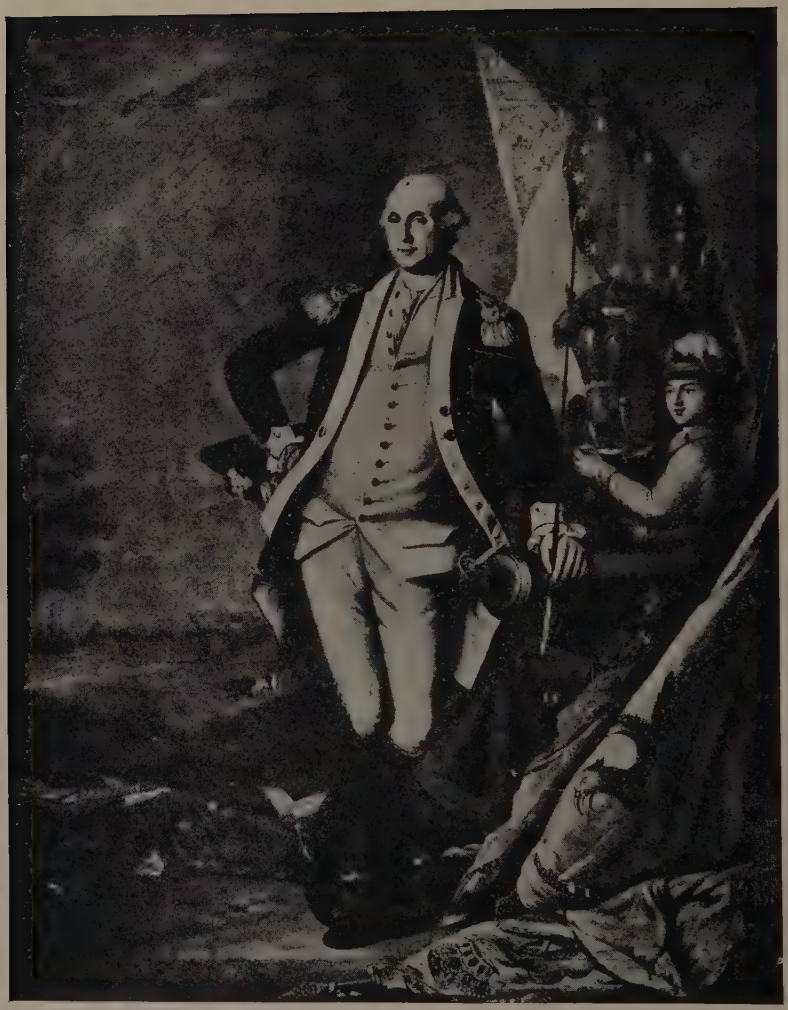
1. C. W. Peale type. Collection James J. Mitchell, Carrington Bowles, 69 St. Paul's Churchyard, London.



1. Painted and engraved by Charles Willson Peale in 1787. Rare. Mezzotint from original in Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. 2. Engraved by a Spanish artist early in the Revolution. 3. By Charles Willson Peale, finished in one month. 4. John Trumbull type; now in France.

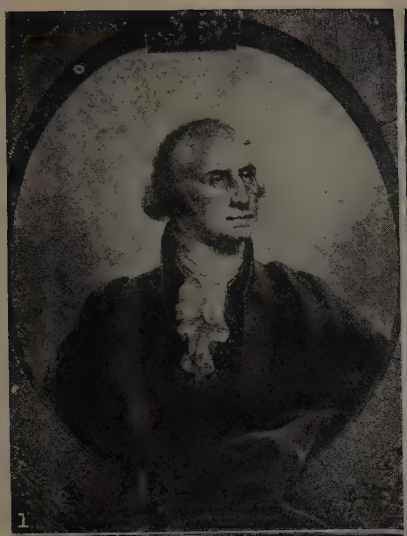


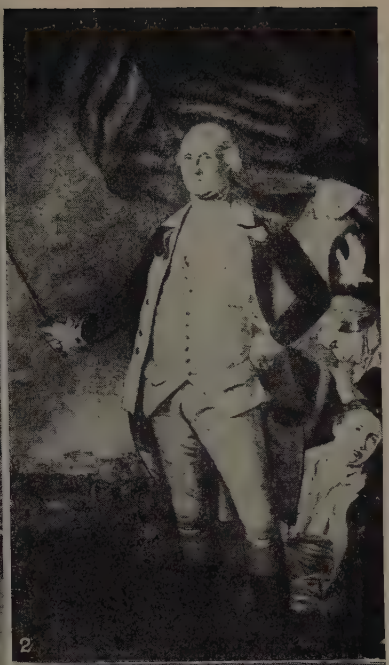
As Washington is supposed to have looked at the time of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown. *Charles Willson Peale.*

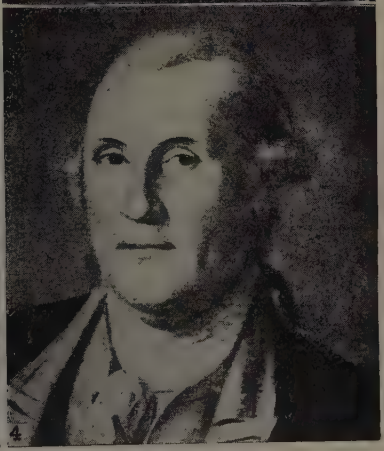


It is claimed this portrait by Chas. W. Peale was painted for Lafayette, as a gift from Washington. It hung in the salon at Le Grange. Now owned by M. Xavier de Pusy, great-great-grandson of Lafayette.

Photographed by Giraudon, Paris





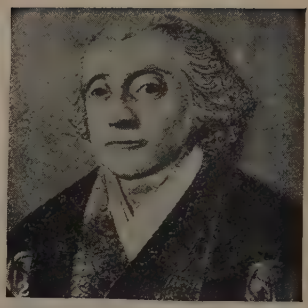


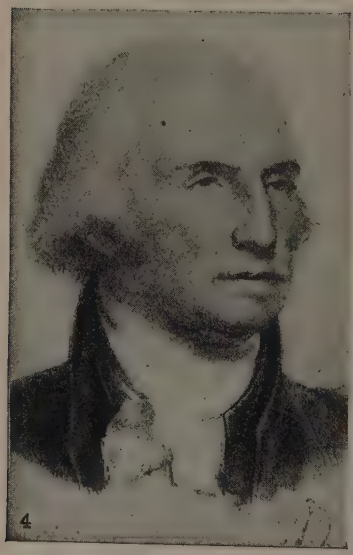
1. Rembrandt Peale; Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Pa.

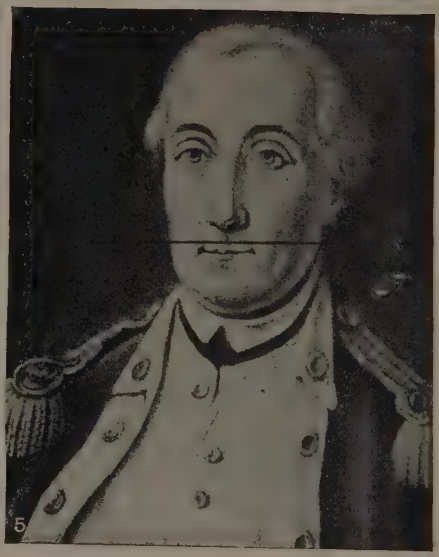
2. Portrait by C. W. Peale, now in Princeton College, replaces one of George II, ruined by American cannon balls. Washington paid $250 to repair the damage but the college insisted on having his portrait instead of that of the King.

3. Portrait showing badge of office; considered excellent. *Charles Willson Peale.*

4. Charles Willson Peale type. The blue sash resembled the insignia of a marshal of France. Washington denied over signature that he ever posed as a marshal of France. This is in the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md.

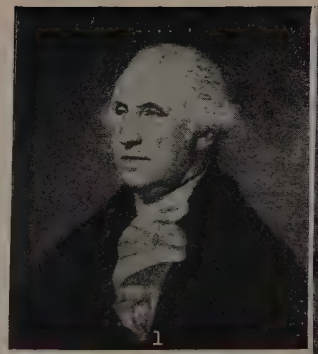


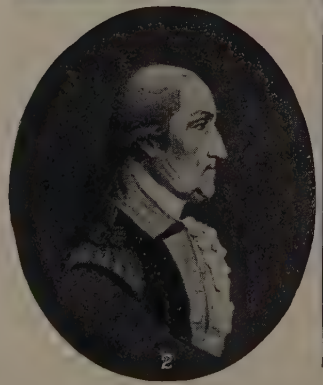


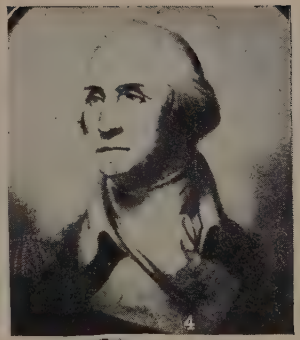


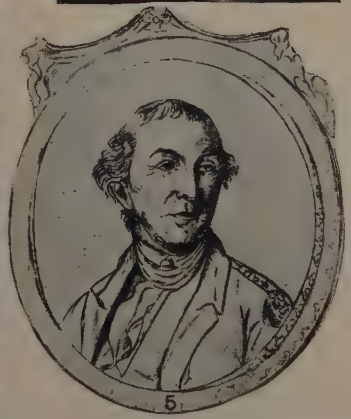
1. Charles Willson Peale type.
2. Chinese portrait on porcelain, in Metropolitan Museum.
3. Stuart type.
4. From lithograph, by Rembrandt Peale.
5. By Alexander Campbell, Williamsburg, Va. Collection James J. Mitchell.

1. Rembrandt Peale, port-hole type. Owned by the author for many years. Canvas 28½ x 35½. 2. Original portrait from life by Charles Willson Peale in 1787. Collection Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Philadelphia, Pa. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. (See page 464 for replica.)







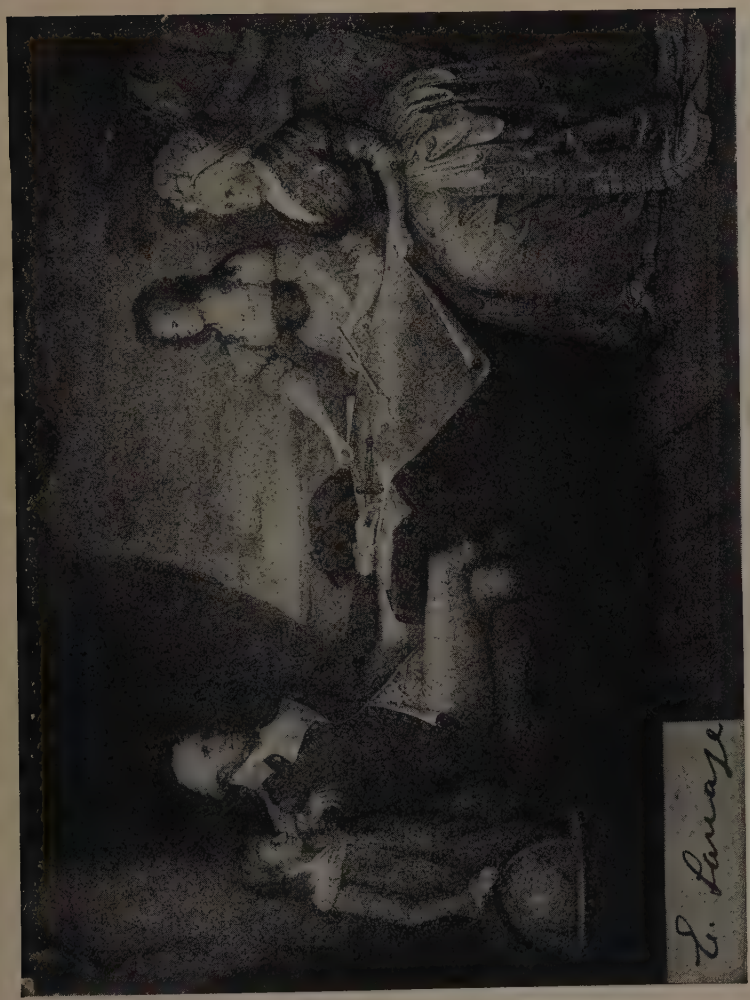


1. There are three of the 1795 portraits from life by Charles Willson Peale, one in the New York Historical Society; Luke Vincent Lockwood of New York owns another, and Herbert L. Pratt of New York, the third.

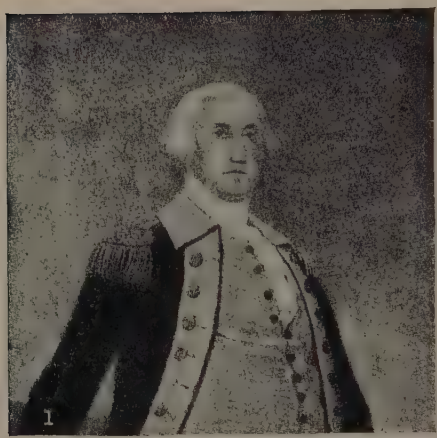
2. Painted by Nathaniel Fullerton, who made but two portraits, without a regular sitting.

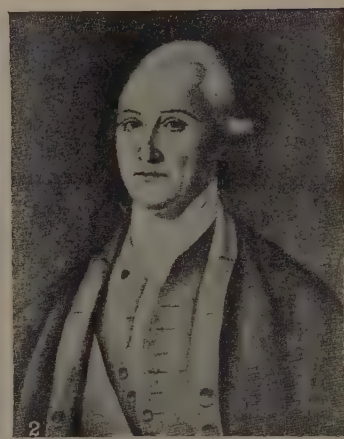
3. By Charles Willson Peale. Owned by Mrs. Alice Carter, Shirley, Va.

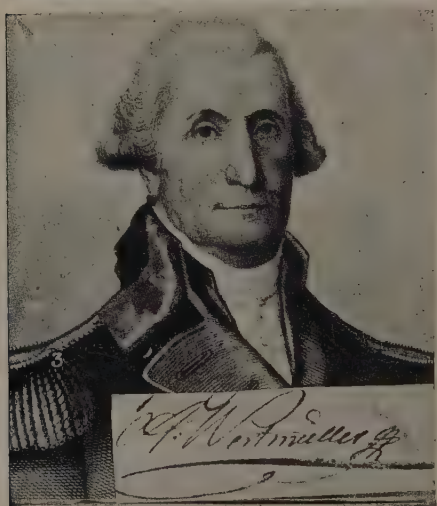
4. Rembrandt Peale. 5. Pencil sketch from life by Charles Willson Peale in 1787. Presented to the Pennsylvania Historical Society by prominent Philadelphians.

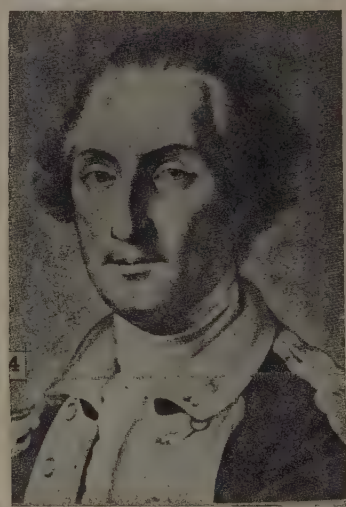


George and Martha Washington; George Washington Parke Custis, and Eleanor Parke Custis. In the background is Billy Lee. *Painted from life by Edward Savage. By courtesy of the owner, Thomas B. Clarke,* New York City.







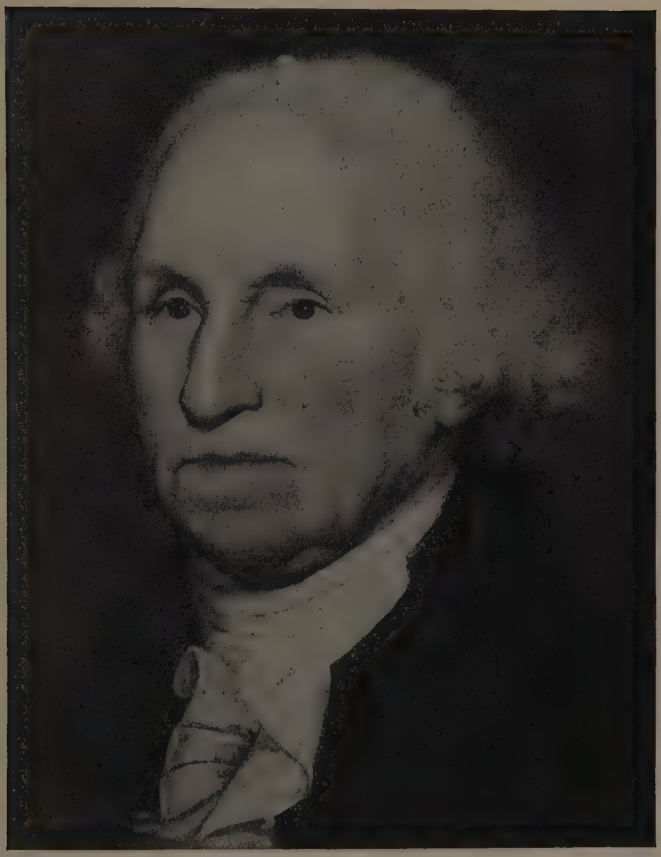


1. An unpublished portrait for the Prince of Orange, and captured by an English ship.

2. Original painting of Washington belonging to the Powell family, of Newport, R. I. Canvas 40 x 48.

3. In 1794 Washington sat to Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller. This was undoubtedly presented by Washington to the late Mr. Cazenove, who took it to Switzerland. Later, it belonged to Charles Augustus Davis, of New York. (See Note 1, page 481.)

4. Colonel John Trumbull type. *V. Green, Engraver.*

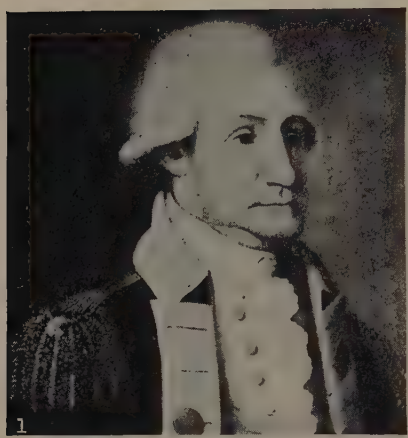


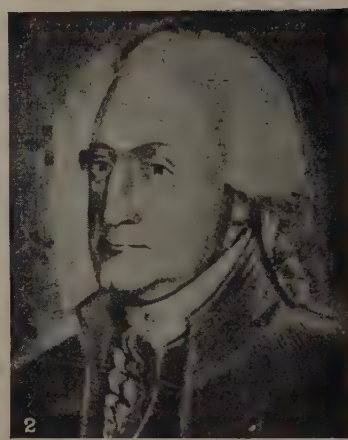
The Rembrandt Peale Washington.
Courtesy Thomas B. Clarke, the owner.

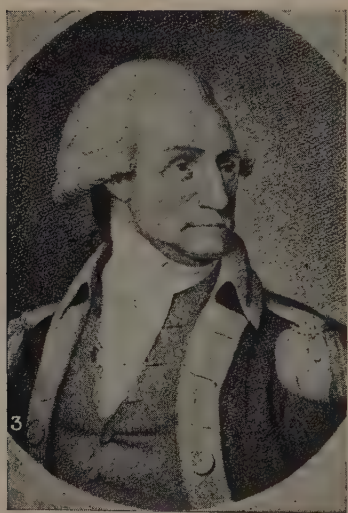
This portrait came through Chancellor De Saussure, a personal friend of Washington, then down through the Sanderson family to the present owner, Thomas B. Clarke. For details see page 425.

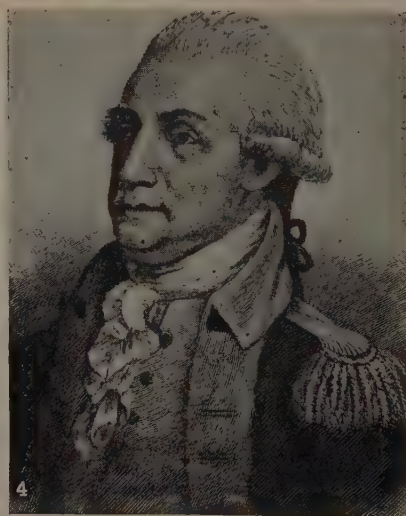
Note 1

Adolph Ulrich Wertmuller (b. 1750, d. 1811), a Swede, came to the United States in 1794, and on his first visit did several portraits of Washington from life. Many consider the portrait on page 480 very pleasing, bringing out striking characteristics.





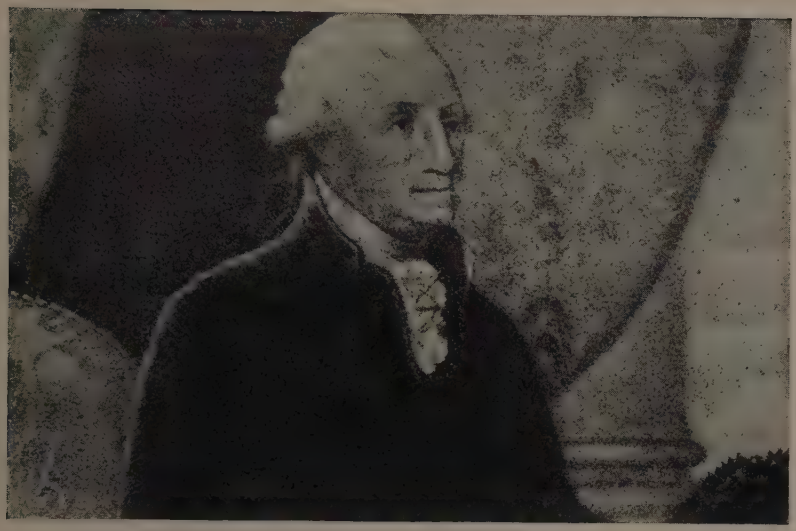




Portraits by Edward Savage.

1. Similar to the Harvard College portrait. Owned by Henry Adams, Washington, D. C.
2. Savage type.
3. Savage type.
4. Savage, showing Washington in 1789.

(See note, page 483.)

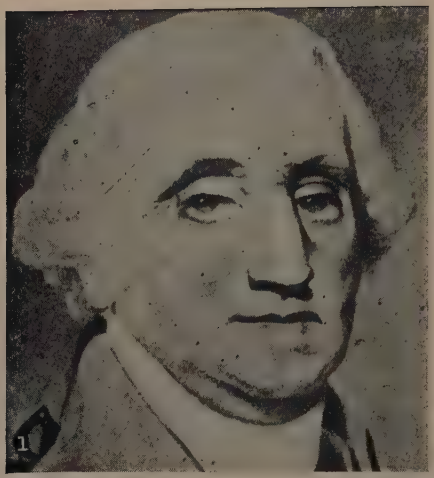


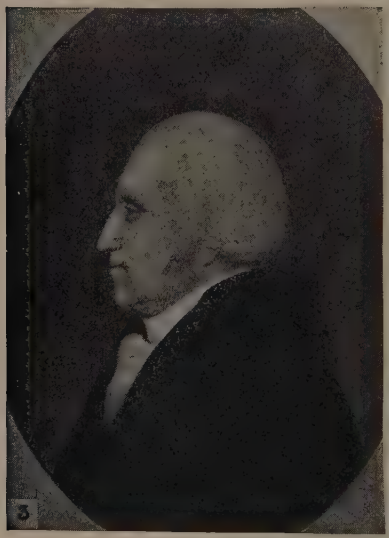
Savage type.

Note 1

Edward Savage, Mass., 1761–1817. First portrait owned by his grand-daughters, artists, living at Fitchburg, Mass. The second portrait and one of Mrs. Washington, owned by John Adams, hang in the home of Charles Francis Adams, Quincy, Mass. The third one belongs to Harvard Collection, Memorial Building; painted Dec. 21, 1789.

Rembrandt Peale.





Sharples, 1751–1812.

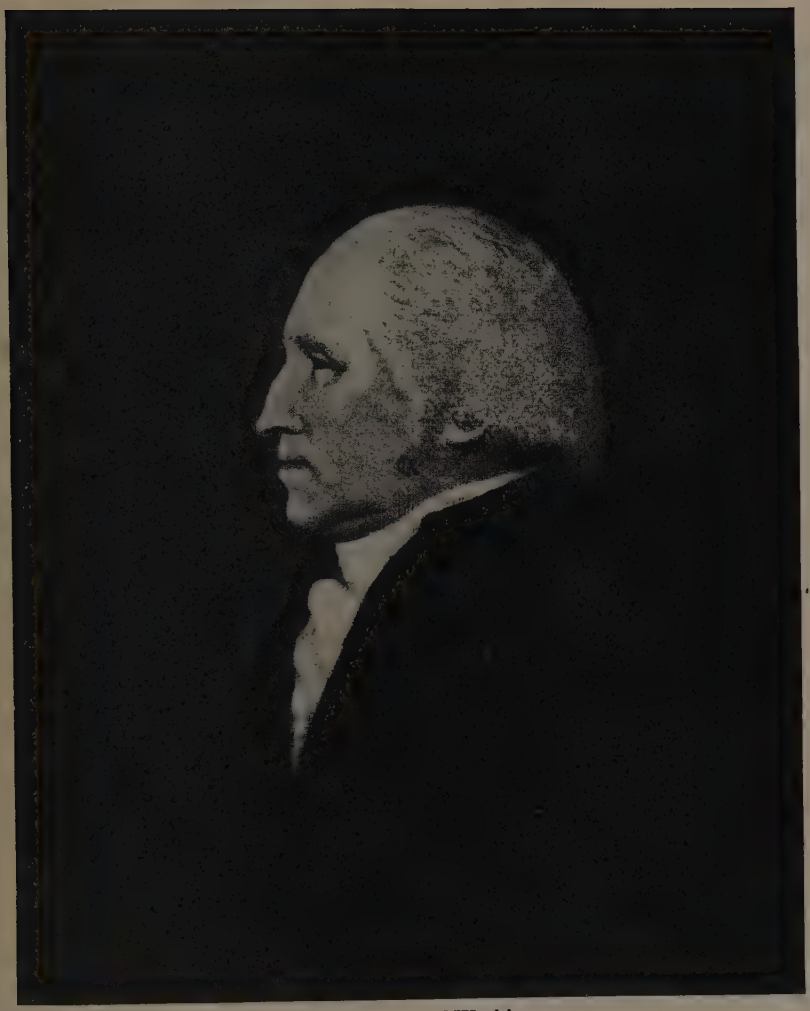
A page of Sharples portraits.

1. Miniature, 1796. Owned by Gordon L. Ford. Originally given by Washington to Nelly Calvert Custis.

2. Miniature on ivory, by Mrs. Sharples, Philadelphia, 1796.

3. Sharples portrait in pastel measured by pantograph.

4. Owned by George Washington Parke Custis; painted in his presence in 1792, and often referred to by him as an accurate portrait. Later owned by Colonel Berry, of Baltimore.



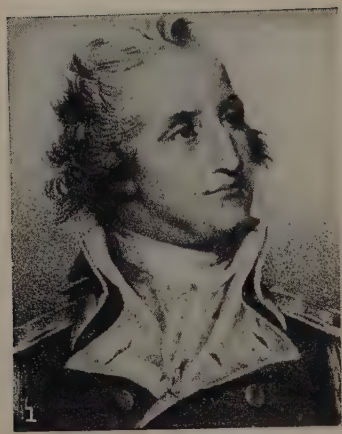
Sharples portrait of Washington.

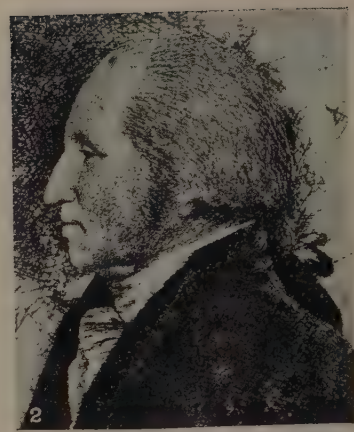
Courtesy of Luke Vincent Lockwood, the owner, New York City.

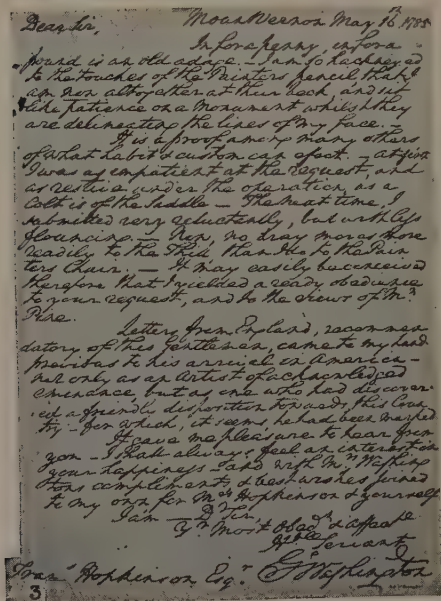
James Sharples used a pantograph; measurements were therefore perfect. Geo. W. Custis Lee has one and another is owned by Mrs. Geo. R. Goldsborough of Maryland.

One made for James McHenry of Maryland. One owned by Mrs. Wm. Greenleaf Webster. One owned by Nathan Appleton of Boston.

Replicas with J. P. Morgan, Mrs. E. H. Harriman, S. Weir Mitchell Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Philipse Manor Collection, Yonkers, Wadsworth Collection, Hartford, Conn.







Mount Vernon May 16 1785

Dear Sir,

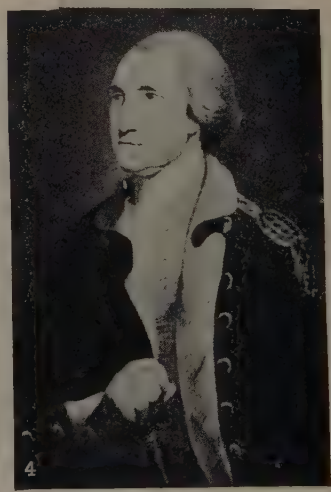
In Jocoseness, as well as Jest, is an old adage. I am so hackney'd to the touches of the Painters pencil, that I am now altogether at their beck, and in spite of patience or a Monument which they are delineating the lines of my face. It is a proof among many others of what habit & custom can effect. I sitting twice as long as patient at the request, and as restless under the operation as a colt is of the saddle. At that time, I submitted very reluctantly, but with Chagrin. Yet, no Man more more readily to the Will, than I do to the Painters Chair. It may easily be conceived therefore that I yielded a ready obedience to your request, and to the chair of Mr. Pine.

Letters from England, recommendatory of this gentleman, came to my hand previous to his arrival in America. I felt only as an Artist of his character and merit, but as one who had discovered a genteel disposition to quaff the Cup of adversity, for which, it seems, he had been marked by fate. It gave me pleasure to hear from you. I shall always feel an interest in your happiness. I pray with Mr. Mifflin & his complimentary & best wishes joined to my own, for Mr. Hopkinson & yourself.

I am — Sir,
Yr. Most Obed. & affectionate
Servant
G. Washington

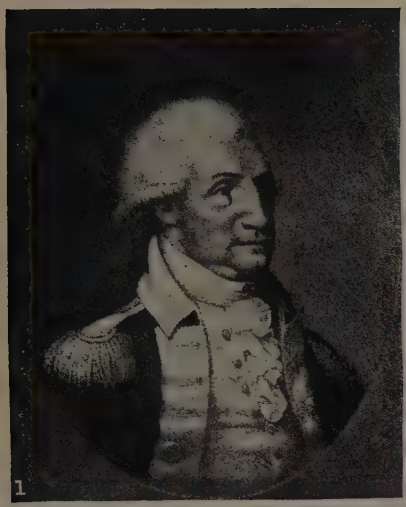
Frans. Hopkinson Esq.r

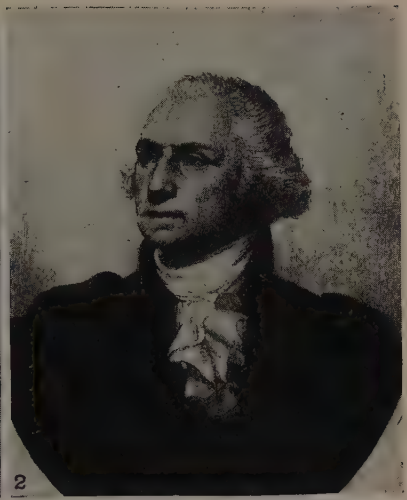
3

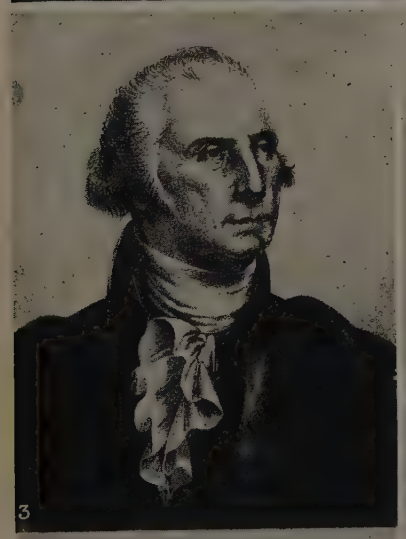


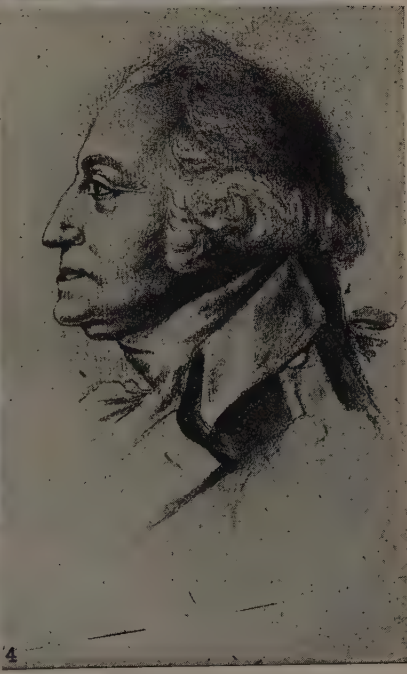
1. Trumbull type. 2. James Peale. Water color. Charles Henry Hart. 3. Letter of Washington to Pine. 4. The J. Carson Brevoort Pine portrait.

Robert Edge Pine, son of John Pine, the engraver, came of a family of small people. He was three weeks at Mt. Vernon in 1785, painted Mrs. Washington and two grandchildren, and two portraits of Washington, one for Francis Hopkinson, and one for himself; with cane and gem.

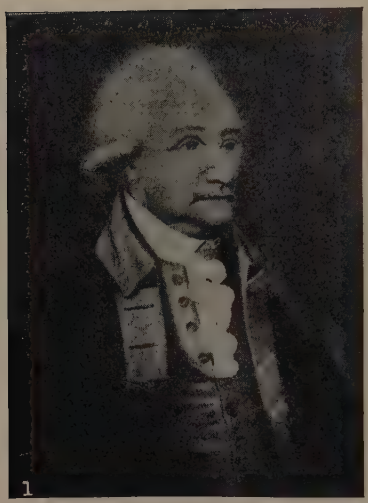


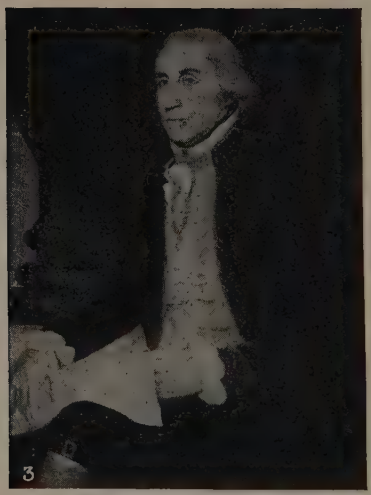




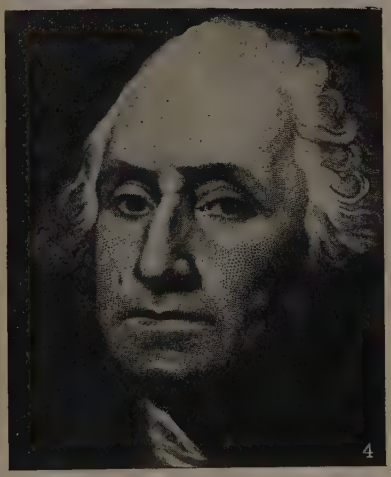


1. Painted by Edward Savage. 2–3. By Rembrandt Peale. 4. By St. Mémin.
(See notes 1–4, page 489.)





1. By Savage, 1790. Owned by Harvard College.
2. Savage portrait of Martha Washington. Owned by Henry Adams, Washington, D. C.
3. Joseph Wright portrait. Owner, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, of New York.
4. Joseph Wright portrait of Martha Washington. Owner, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, of New York.



1. George Washington. *By John S. Copley.* (Often so accredited. Also to Charles Willson Peale.)
2. Martha Custis. *By John Wollaston.*
3. Martha Washington later in life. *By Stuart.*
4. George Washington later in life. *By Stuart.* (Athenæum portrait).

Annoyed by Stuart's delay in delivering the Athenæum portrait, Washington told him to keep it and send a copy, which Stuart was glad to do.

(See notes, page 491.)

The Alexander Robertson miniatures of George and Martha Washington. Painted for the Earl of Buchan in 1791. In May, 1792, Robertson painted a large portrait of Washington in oil for the earl. This is now in England. © *Charles W. Darwin.*

(*Notes for page 487.*)

1. Painted by Edward Savage, 1790, for the Philosophical Chamber of the University of Cambridge, Mass.

2. By Rembrandt Peale. In vice-president's room at the Capitol, Washington, D. C.

3. By Rembrandt Peale, who studied under Copley.

4. By St. Mémin, claimed to be the last portrait. Owned by the late J. C. Brevoort, Brooklyn. Painted in Philadelphia in 1798, when Washington was planning his campaign in the French War. Considered one of the most accurate portraits of Washington in the last year or two of his life.

St. Mémin, 1770–1852. A French refugee. Made portrait of Washington in 1798; J. C. Brevoort obtained it from James B. Robertson. Reduced by pantograph. Copy in Corcoran Art Gallery. The N. Y. Hist. Society has a miniature.

The pose of the head is different from that of all other portraits of Washington, but shows him as he undoubtedly looked at that time.

(*Notes for page 489.*)

Athenæum duplicates: S. P. Avery, portrait originally owned by Gen. Benjamin Smith, North Carolina; Sully, a pupil of Stuart, indorsed the Benj. Smith portrait.

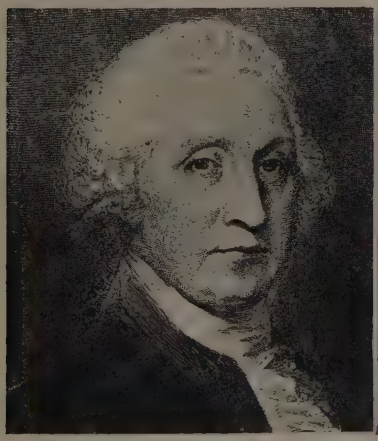
(*Continued on page 491.*)

Miniatures of George and Martha Washington. *By John Trumbull.*

The State Library at Richmond has two busts by Stuart; the first through Samuel Myers; the second through Mr. Williamson.

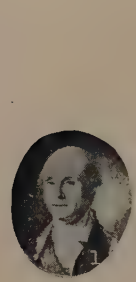
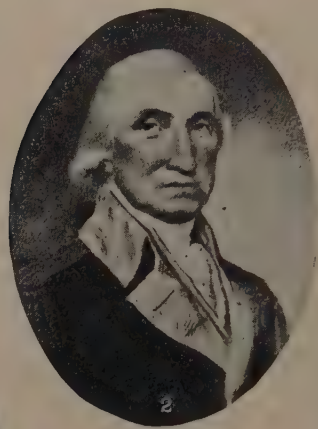
In 1825 Colonel Tuley bought a Stuart, now owned by Col. Tuley's widow in Winchester, Va.

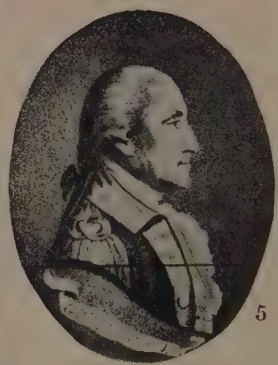
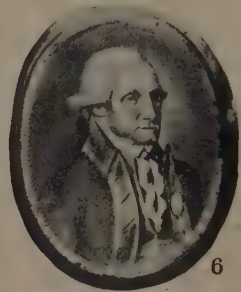
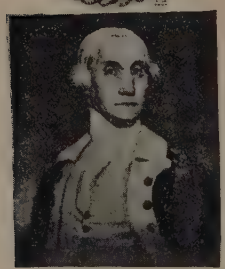
The Maryland Historical Society owns a copy of this Stuart through Miss Richsa G. Etling.



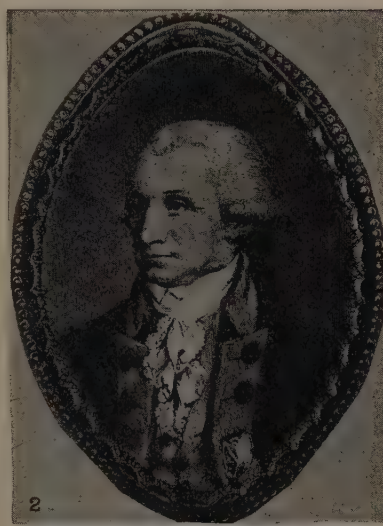
A Washington portrait by John Trumbull. Painted from life in Philadelphia in May, 1793.
Courtesy of Yale University.

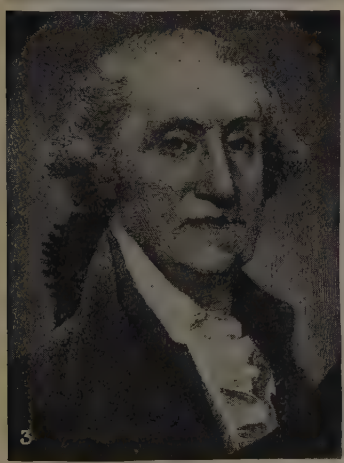
John Trumbull's study in pencil of George Washington.
Courtesy of Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

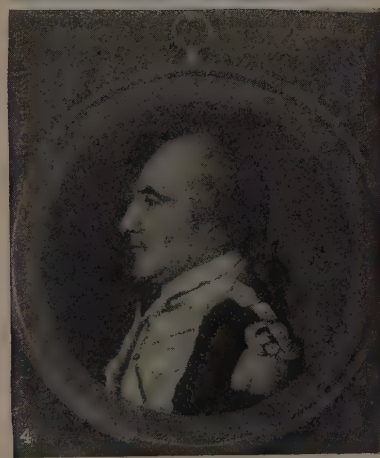



1. Miniature, by James Peale, 1782. Owner, Durant de Ponte, New Orleans, La.
2. Miniature, by Walter Robertson, 1794. Owned by Edmund Law Rogers, Baltimore, Md. (Walter Robertson, from Ireland, came to the United States with Stuart, and painted a miniature of Washington before Stuart obtained a sitting.)
3. Miniature, by C. W. Peale, 1785. Owner, F. C. Foster, New Haven, Conn.
4. Miniature, by James Peale, 1782. Owner, Durant de Ponte, New Orleans, La.
5. By Joseph Wright. *Engraved by J. Collier.*
6. Miniature. (Savage type.) Owned by John C. Jay, M.D., Mamaroneck, N. Y.
7. Painted 1783, by Joseph Wright, from life.
8. Bust decorated by the D.A.R. Hall of Fame, N. Y. City.





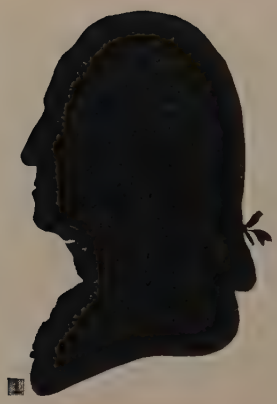


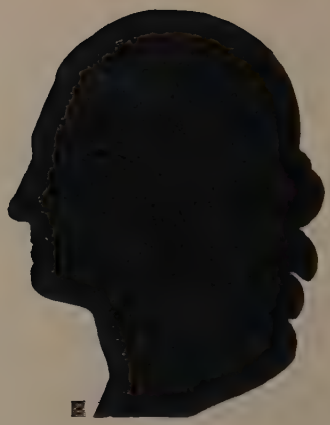
1. Engraved by W. Sharp from original.

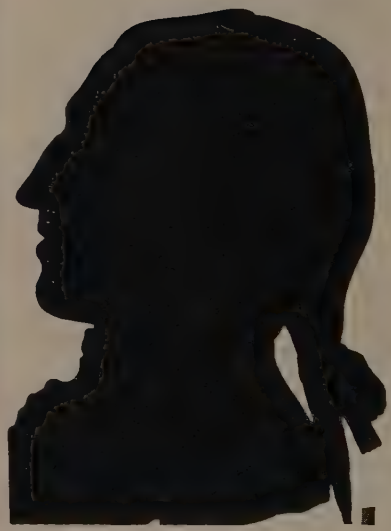
2. Original, by John Ramage. (John Ramage of Ireland painted miniatures of General and Mrs. Washington.)

3. Gibbs-Channing-Stuart type, showing stock and ruff.

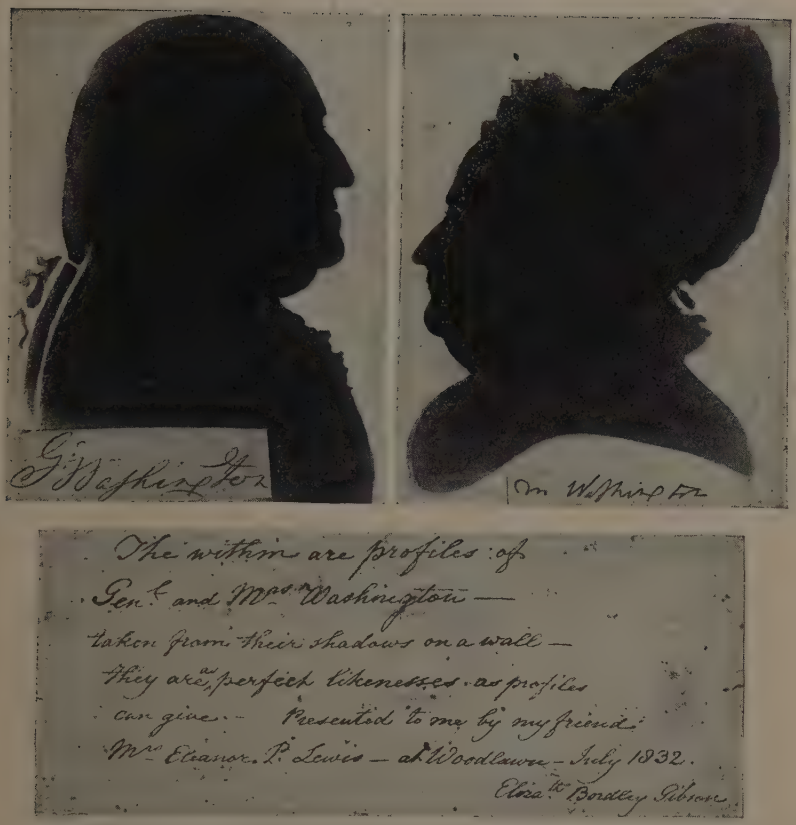
4. Original portrait, by du Simitière in 1779, at the request of John Jay. *Engraved by William Sartain.*



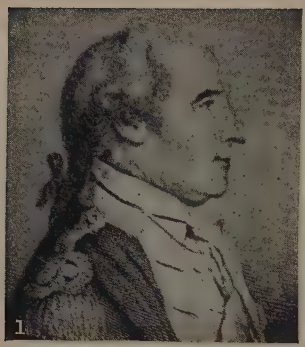


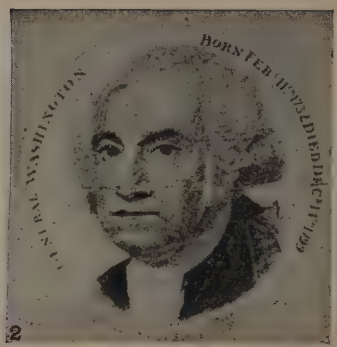


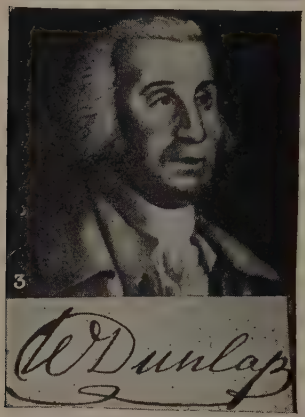
1. Washington in 1794. Trumbull type.
2. Washington in 1795, aged 63, by Valles.
3. Joseph Wright type. By W. Louterburg. Owned by the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington D. C.
4. From the original cut by Miss DeHart of Elizabethtown in 1783. Presented by Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Duer, daughter of General Stirling.

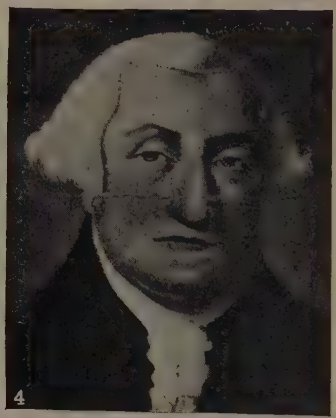


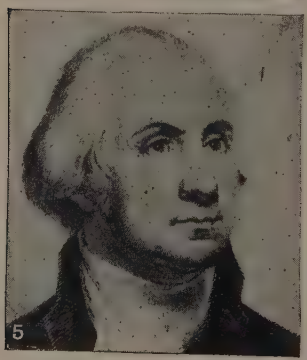
The Nelly Custis silhouettes of George and Martha Washington. As in all silhouettes, the lack of lines gives fullness to the face. The indorsement guarantees the authenticity.

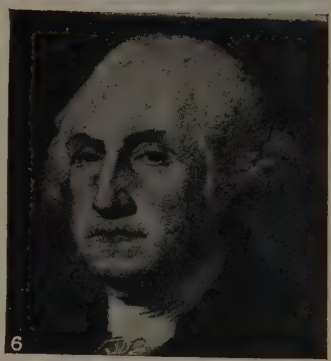




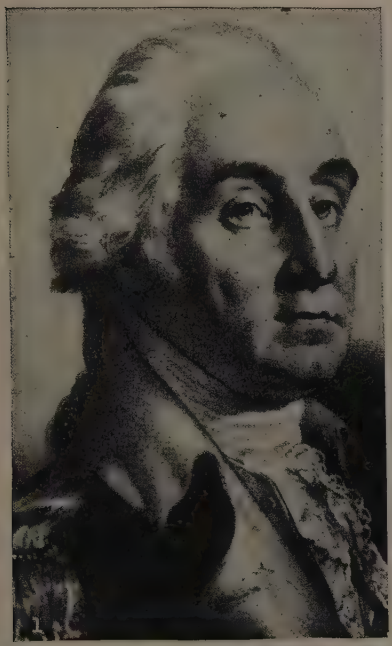


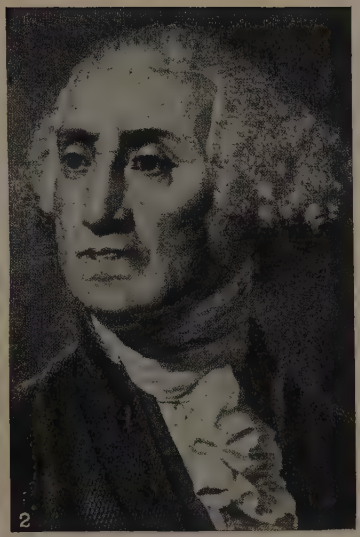


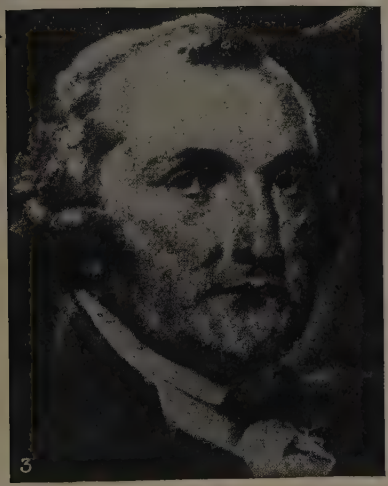


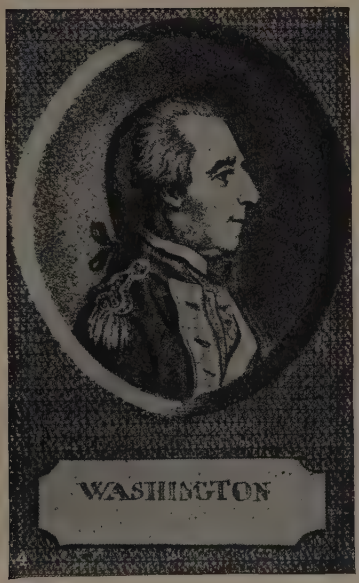


1. Published, 1783, by R. Wilkinson, Cornhill, London. 2. By Robert Loudon. 3. Painted by William Dunlap, in 1783, at Rocky Hill, N. J. Later in possession of Dr. Ellis, of New York. (See Note 1, page 498.) 4. Painted by D. Hodgson; engraved by P. Dawe; published in 1801 by C. Clement. 5. Rembrandt Peale type. 6. Stuart type, in civilian dress.





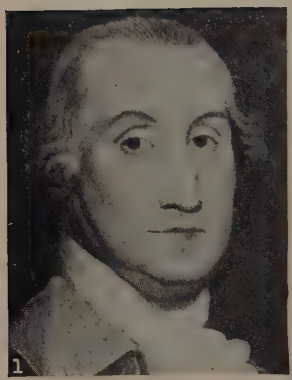


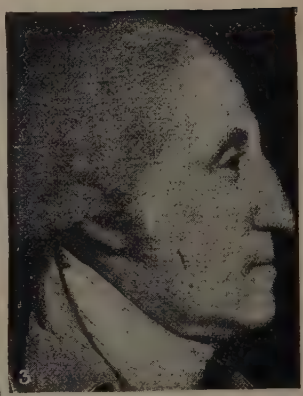
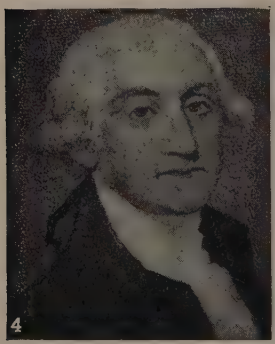
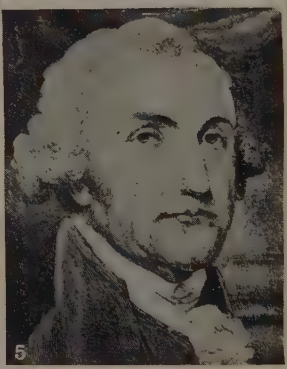
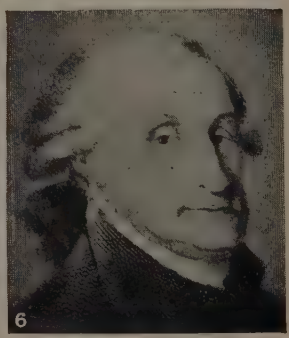


1–2. Replicas showing attempts to improve on original paintings.

3. Portrait on marble by Archibald Robertson. Loaned to N. Y. Historical Society by Tarrant Putnam.

4. Type of Eugene du Simitière. Rare. Schweyer.



1. By D. A. Drychinck; collection William Mengist; *engraved by O'Neill.*

2. Archibald Robertson type.

3. By Joseph Wright. From the Hinman P. Hurlbut Purchase Fund. Replica owned by G. L. McKean, Chicago, Ill.

In 1784 the Wright portrait was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Israel Thorndike. Count de Solms had one.

David Nichols of Salem, Mass., owned a crayon of 1790; wrongly credited to St. Mémin. It has a Quaker look. Wright made etching from pew in Trinity Church; stolen portrait.

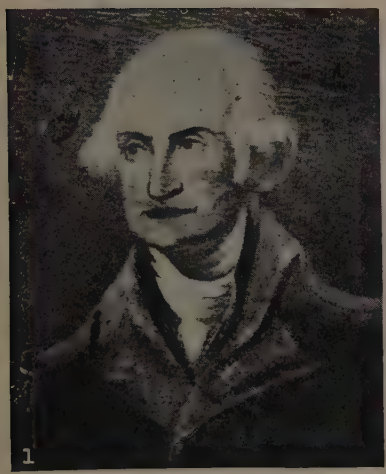
4. Engraved by W. Ridley; Stuart-Vaughan type.

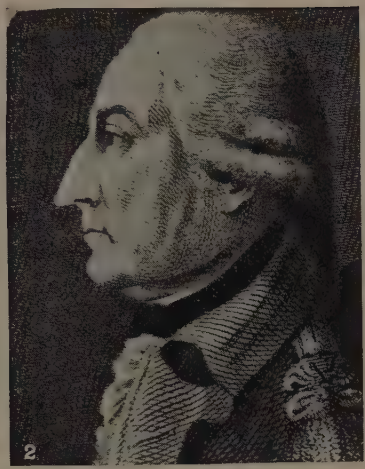
5. Replica by Archibald Robertson, probably similar to the oil painting now in England.

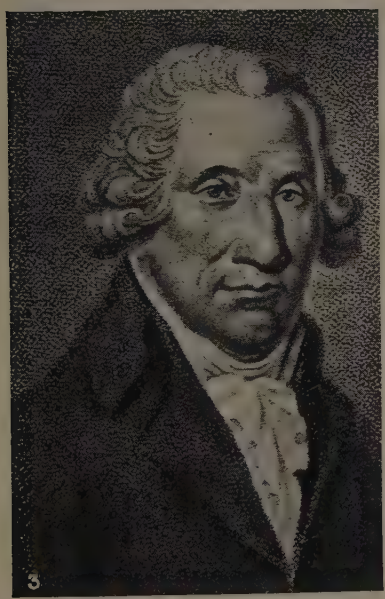
6. Painted in 1789 by Christian Gulager of Boston, commissioned by Samuel Breck of that city; raffled for and presented to Rev. Jeremy Belknap.

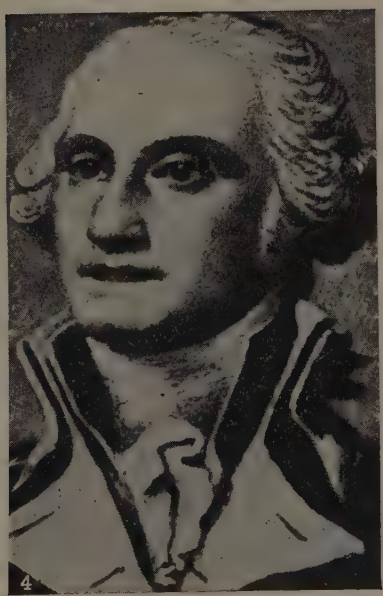
Note 1

Wm. Dunlap had never taken lessons when he made the pastel, 1783, at Rocky Hill, N. J.; engraved by Robin; owned by Dr. Samuel C. Lewis of New York. Dunlap was a better writer than painter.

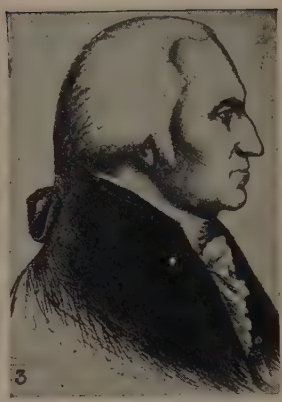
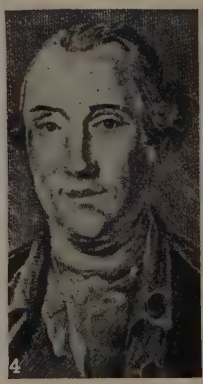
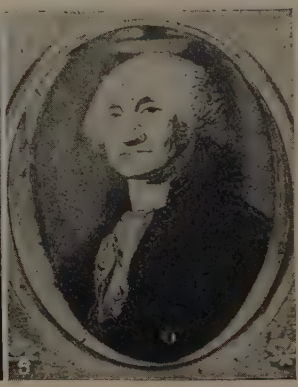








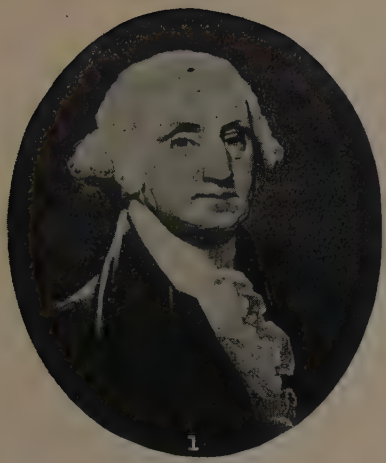
1. Painted by Crawford. Owned by the Joy estate, Detroit, Michigan. One of Washington's last portraits.
2. Joseph Wright type. (See note, page 500.)
3. By an unknown artist.
4. John Trumbull type. Recently discovered in New Orleans.

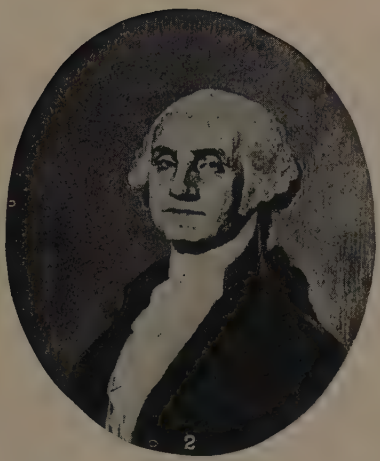




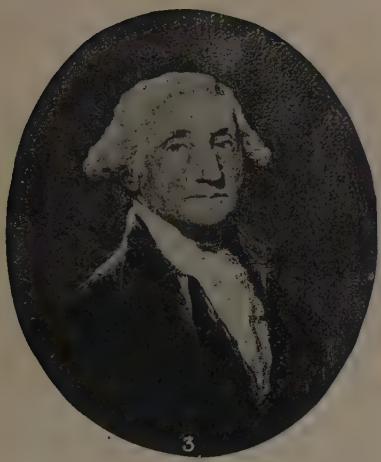
1. An idealized Washington. Property of the late Hamilton Fish.
2. Bronze bust after Houdon.
3. Portrait of Washington.
4. Engraved portrait of Washington, from Kings Arms, Paternoster Row, London.
5. Known as the Pitcher portrait, by Stuart. On porcelain.

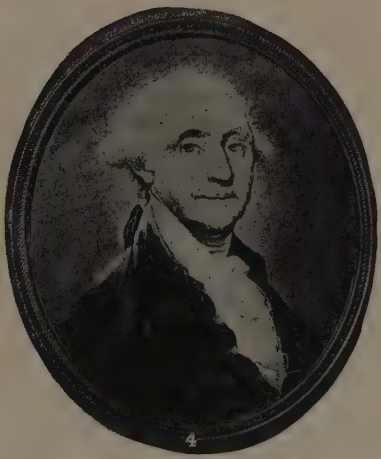
Note 1

Joseph Wright, Bordentown, N. J., son of Joseph and Patience Wright, and a pupil of Benjamin West; painted Washington at Rocky Hill; owned by Francis Hopkinson. Descended to Mrs. Annie Hopkinson Foggo, Philadelphia, Pa.









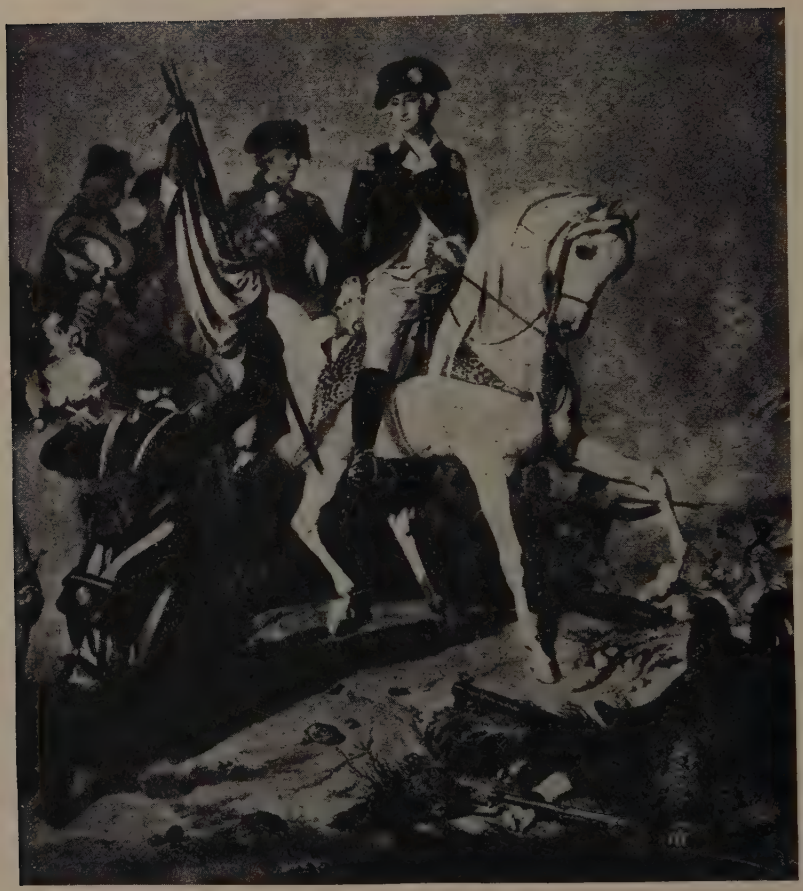
1. The Robert Field portrait of Washington. In Metropolitan Museum, N. Y. 2. Washington, by Labatut. 3. Washington by William Birch. 4. Washington by F. Peticolas, owned by Mr. Frank, Washington, D. C.

William Birch, England, 1760–1834. Enamel painter and fine engraver. Washington allowed Birch to sit in his cabinet, but gave no regular sitting; owned by Judge H. A. M. Smith of Charleston, S. C.

James McHenry bought one of Birch's copies; it is owned today by J. Howard McHenry of Baltimore. Charles D. Barney of Richmond, Va., owns a duplicate enameled on copper.

Robert Field of England made three miniatures of Washington and one of Mrs. Washington in 1798. Given by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis to her grandson, Lawrence Lewis Conrad, of Baltimore, Md.

It is of record that when Robert Field stayed overnight in Washington's home, he clipped a button from Washington's Monongahela coat which hung in the closet. *(Continued on page 502.)*



Recently discovered portrait of Washington entering Trenton. Probably painted by Emanuel Leutze, who painted "The Crossing of the Delaware."

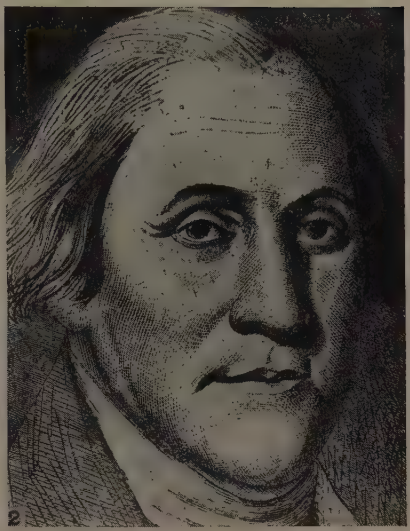
(*Continued from page 501.*)

The Labatut miniature, 6 x 7, was ordered by Washington and given to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina. Owned by Miss C. F. Watson, New York.

The second Field miniature, presented to Tobias Lear, is owned by Mrs. Wilson Eyre of Newport, R. I.

The third Field miniature is owned by Charles C. Moreau, a collector of engravings of Mrs. Washington.

The fourth Field miniature was owned by Judge Bushrod Washington.



1. Trumbull type. For Charles Lee. 2. By Charles Peale Polk, relative of Charles W. Peale. (Polk painted figures; C. W. Peale, heads.) 3. Joseph Wright type. 4. By John Lorenz Rugendas; Alexander Campbell type; very rare.

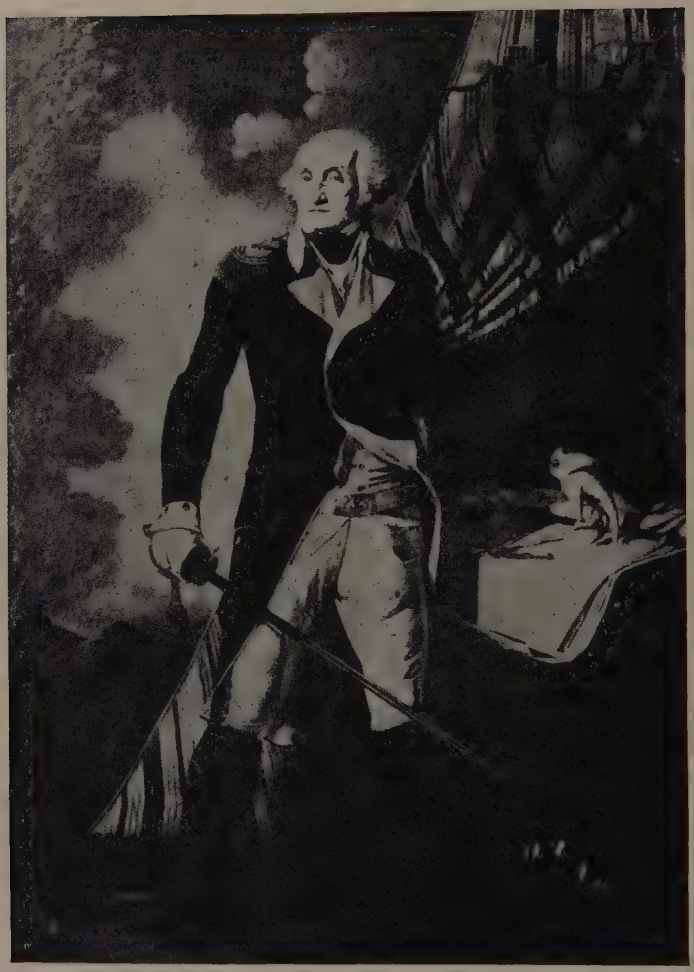
Polk No. 2, owned by Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Polk No. 3, owned by Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C.

2. Painted by John Faed, the Englishman, many years after Washington's death. *Eng. by William Holl.*

1. This drawing, by Alexander Campbell, of Williamsburg, Va., was published in London in 1776. Washington took issue with it as approaching a caricature.

1. Trumbull type. *Engraved by Valentine Green, of England.*
2–3–4. Portraits of Washington, by Alonzo Chappel.

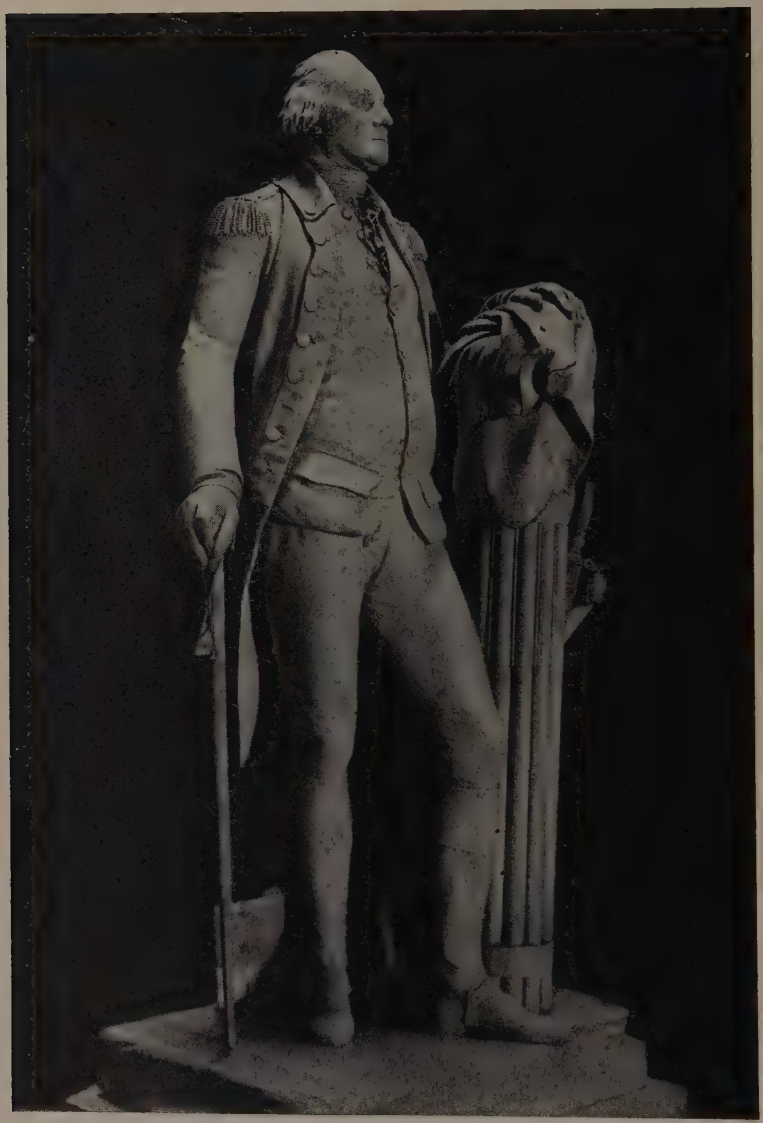


Work of the French artist, Denis A. Volozon, for the Delaware General Assembly. Delivered December 10, 1802.

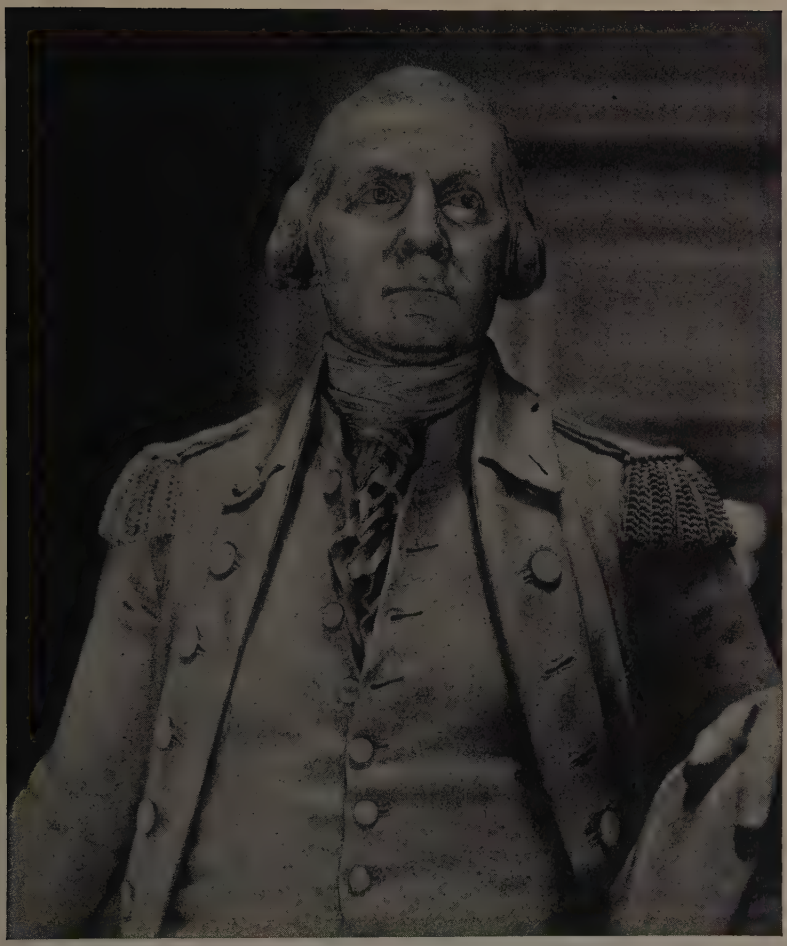
Immediately after the death of General Washington, the State of Delaware voted to have his portrait painted, and Volozon was given the commission.

1. Portrait, by H. D. Symonds, Paternoster Row, October 25, 1794.
2. Original drawing, by W. Taylor, Philadelphia, Pa. Published in London, C. Cawthorn, June 30, 1799. Published by Dighton, London, in 1800.

Study of Charles Willson Peale for his 1772 portrait of Washington.

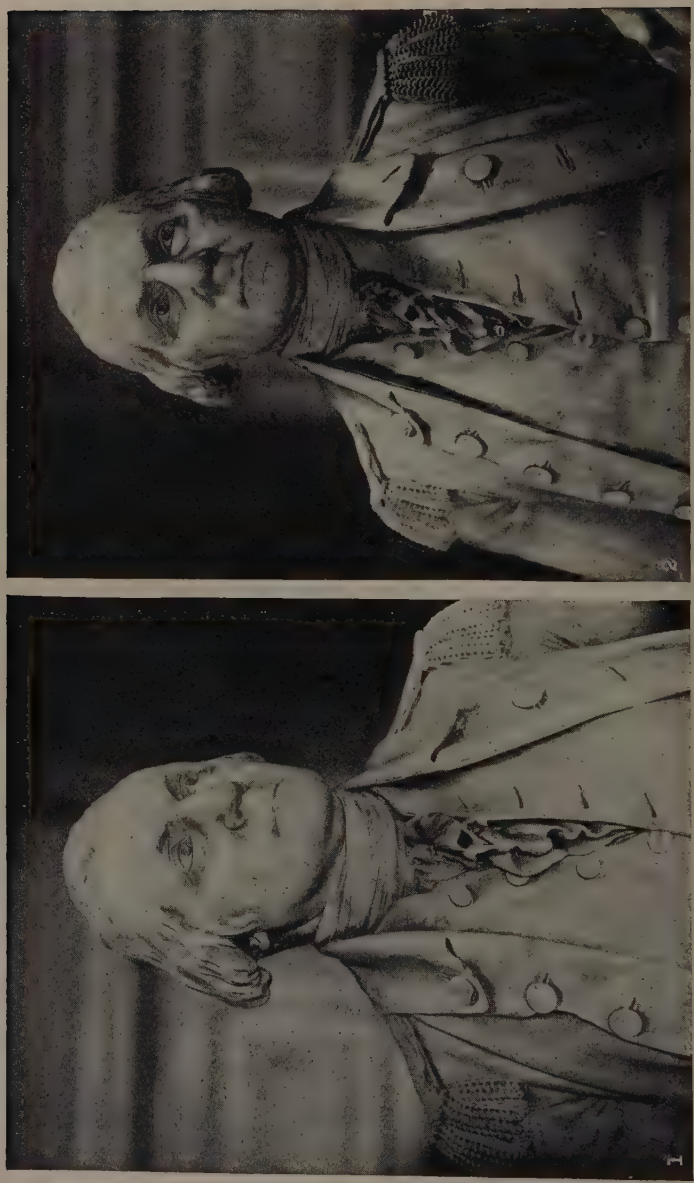


A side view of the Houdon statue.



Bust of the Houdon statue of Washington, at Richmond.

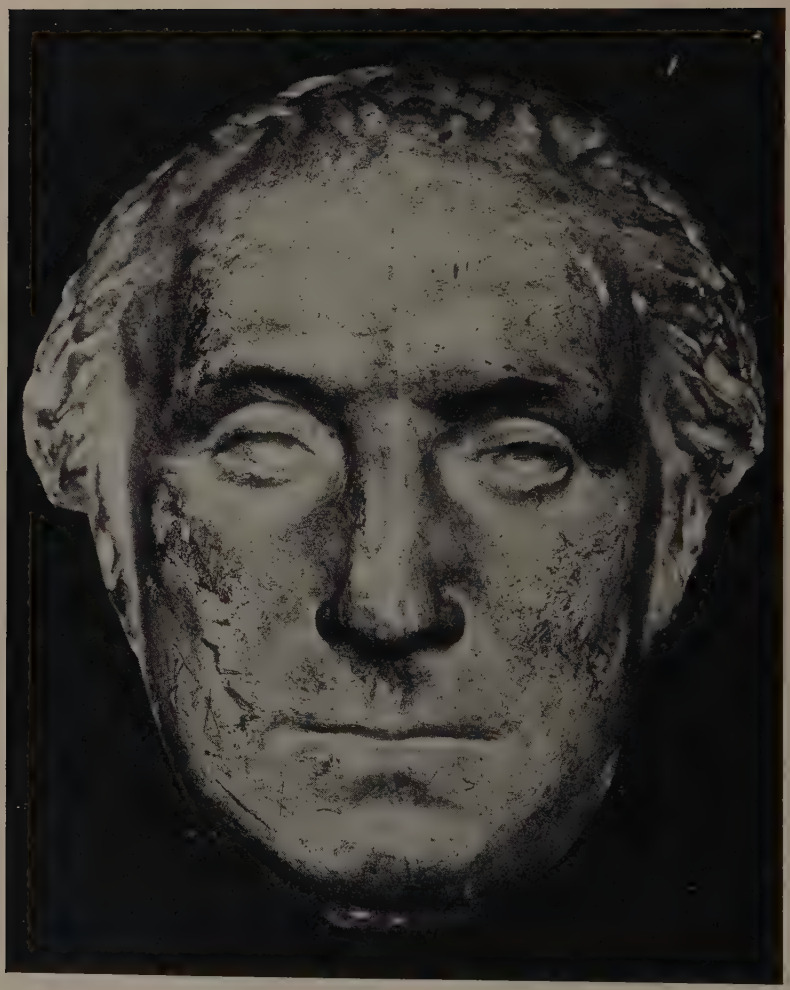
Sculptors and painters took great liberties with Washington's hair. In 1785, when Houdon made his studies, it is well known that his hair was much thicker than when Ceracchi modelled his bust in 1791–1792, to-day in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. At this date it is said that Washington's hair had thinned and that he wore a wig.



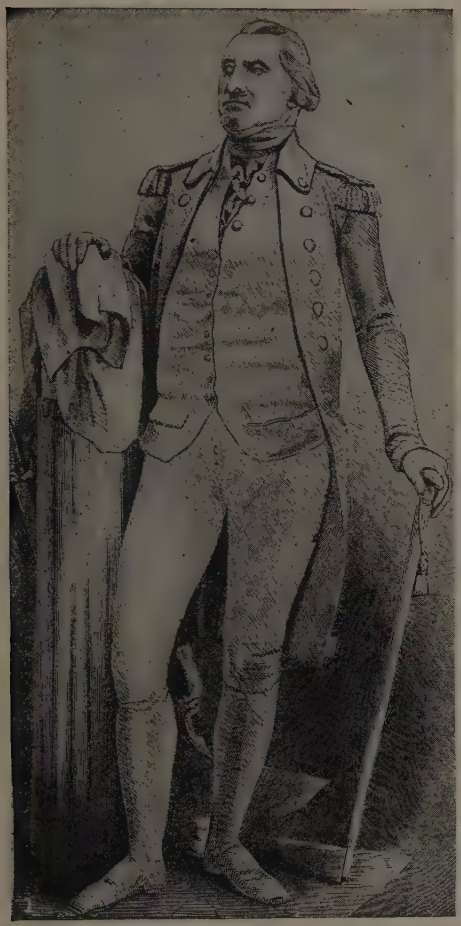
1–2. Side and front views of the Houdon bust at Richmond. Photographed from a raised platform.

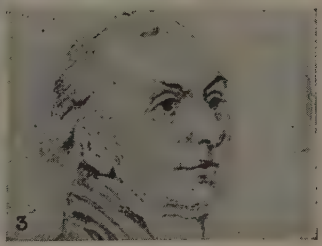
Houdon, 1741–1828; received one thousand guineas and expenses; his life insured for six months. Jefferson and Franklin said the pay was too small. Houdon would not have made this price had he not expected to get an order for the equestrian statue.

Houdon statue in the Capitol at Richmond. Valued at several million dollars. Photographed from a raised platform.



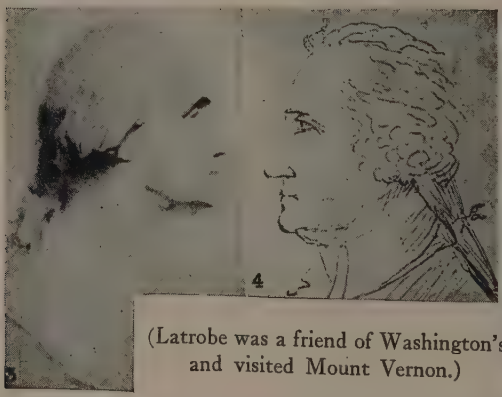
Houdon mask of Washington, owned by J. Pierpont Morgan, through whose courtesy it is shown. Also in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.





1. Houdon statue. 2. Another view of the Houdon statue.
3. Jean Antoine Houdon.

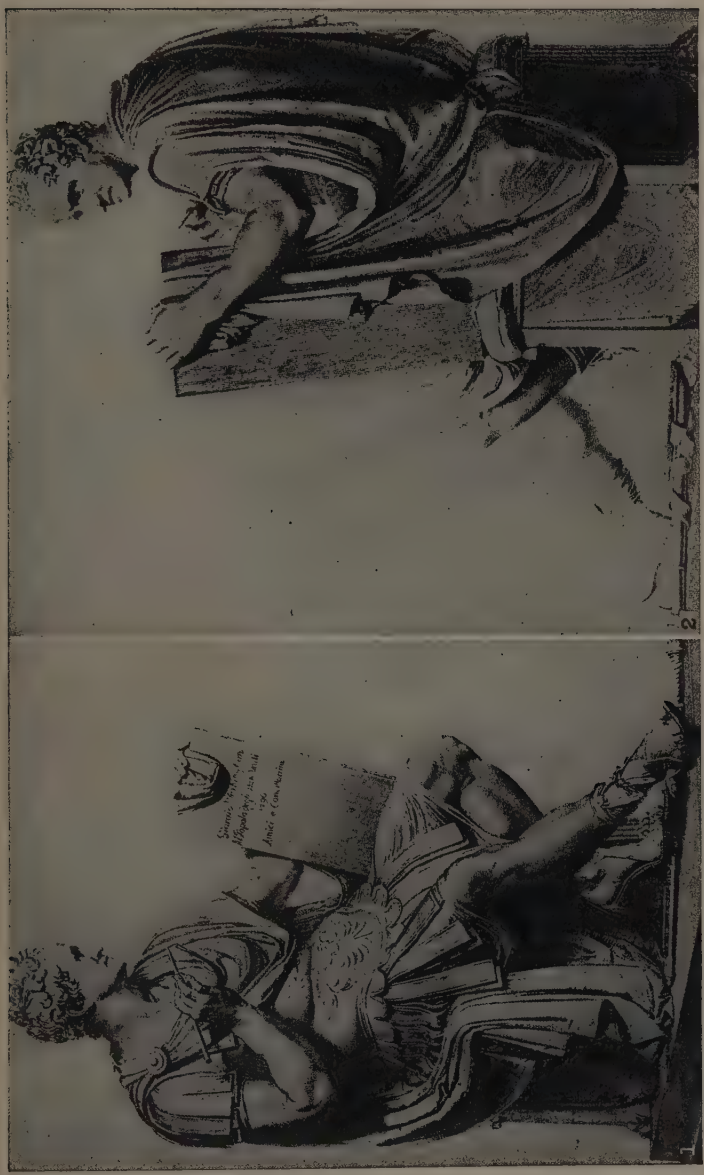
Gouverneur Morris when in Paris was used by Houdon as a model for Washington's figure. Both Stuart and Houdon were masters so far as the face is concerned, but found proper painting of the body more difficult.



(Latrobe was a friend of Washington's and visited Mount Vernon.)

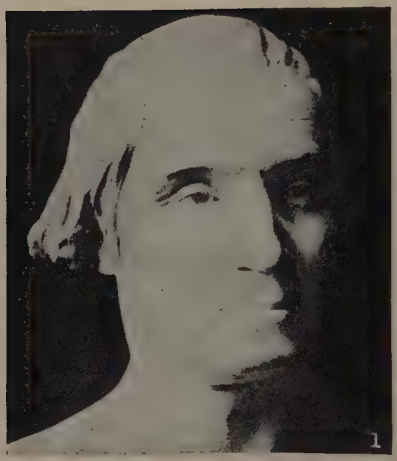
1. Bust, by Gaetano Trentinove. 2. Houdon bust. 3. After Houdon. *Engraved by A. B. Durand, 1833.* 4. By Latrobe. 5. Painted by Madame de Bréhan. Original in possession of Mrs. F. T. Moorehead.

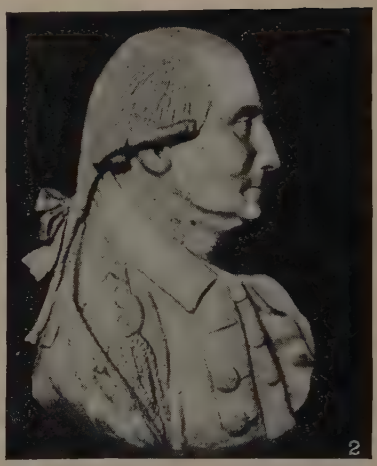
Madame de Bréhan made her first miniature from memory when at Mount Vernon in 1788, making another from life for Mrs. Washington—a profile in white on drab ground, with laurel wreath. There are several replicas, one of which is owned by Dr. Hosack of New York. All were in profile.

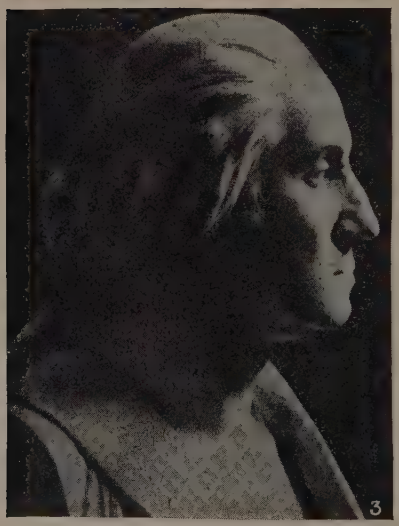


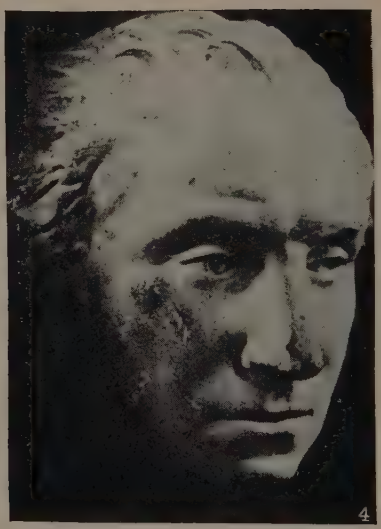
1. Canova. *Aug. Bertini, engraver.* 2. Canova. *Eng. Don Marchetti.*

Antonio Canova, 1757–1822. Canova modelled this statue from Ceracchi's bust. Received a commission from Governor Miller for a statue for North Carolina. Cost $25,000. In the State House at Raleigh, N. C. The Pennsylvania Room in Mt. Vernon has a copy.







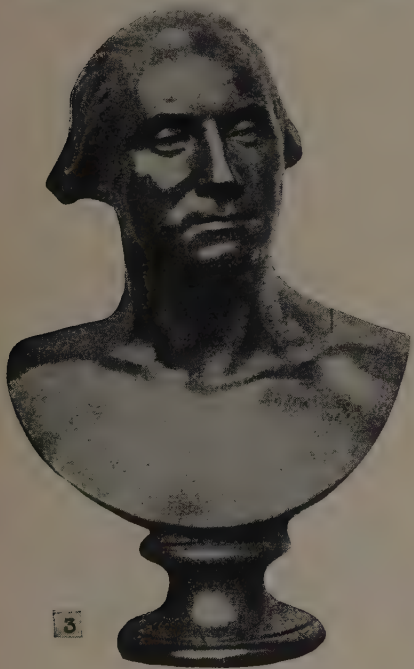


1. Replica of Houdon bust.

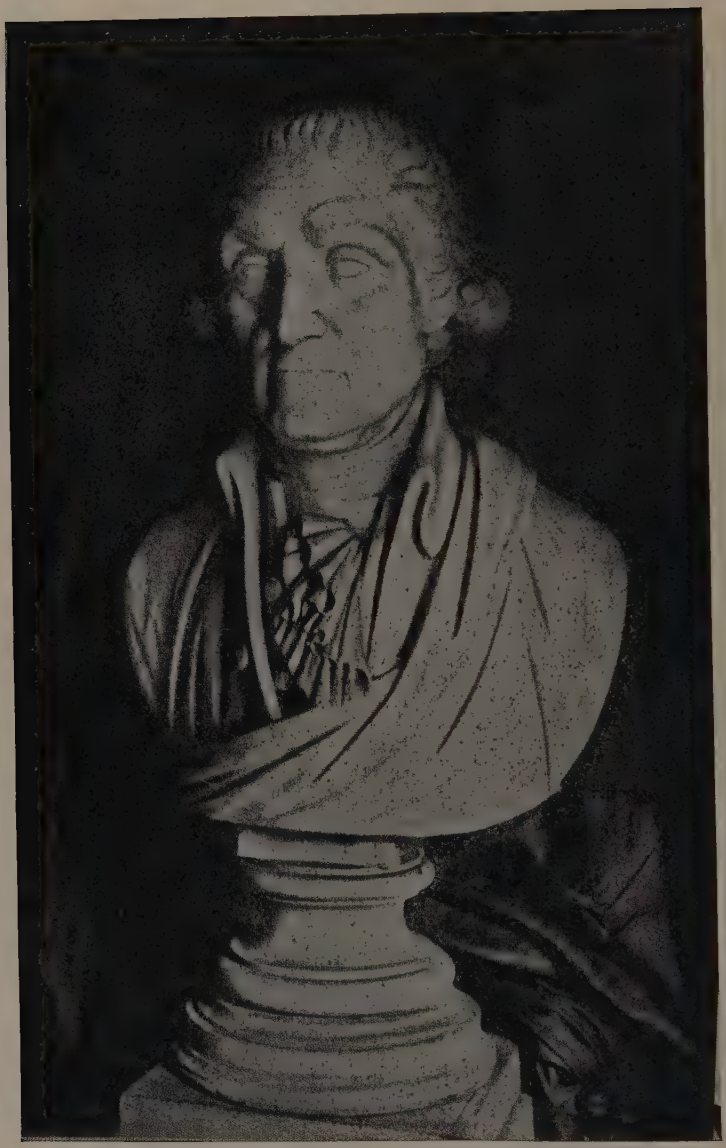
2. Bust in wax, by Mrs. Patience Lovell Wright, the Quaker artist, 1725–1785, mother of Joseph Wright. Owned by R. H. Harte, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.

3. Clark Mills copy in plaster of the Houdon bust.

4. Life mask, by Houdon, October, 1785. Original in J. Pierpont Morgan collection. Another view of mask on page 512.



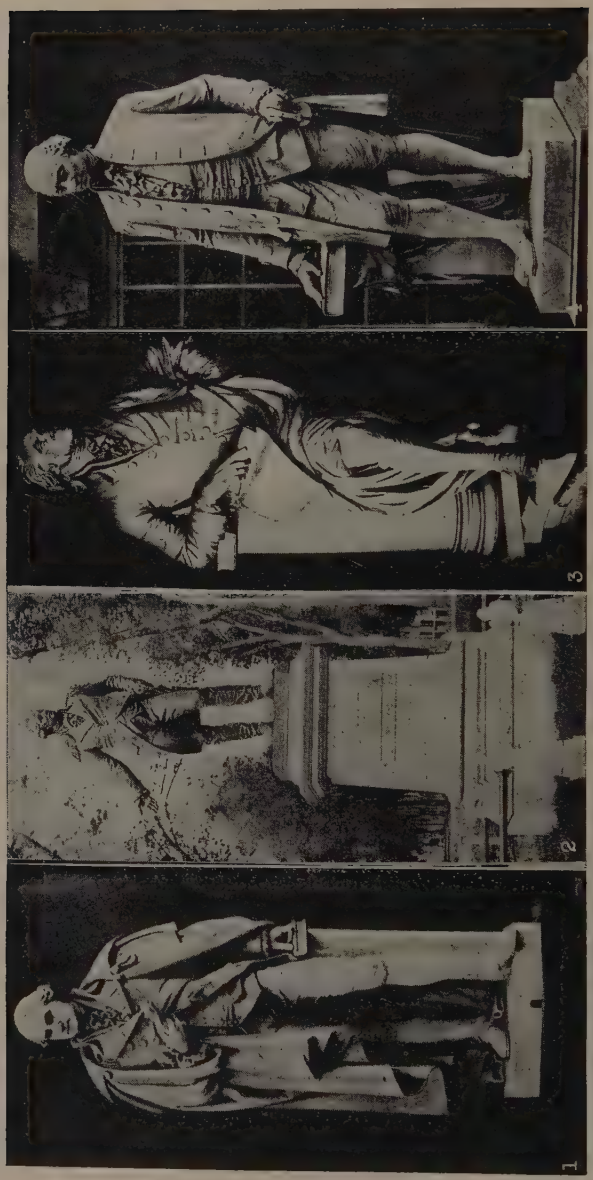
1. Houdon bust with wig. Said to have been owned by Hamilton Fish, New York.
2–3–4. Houdon type.



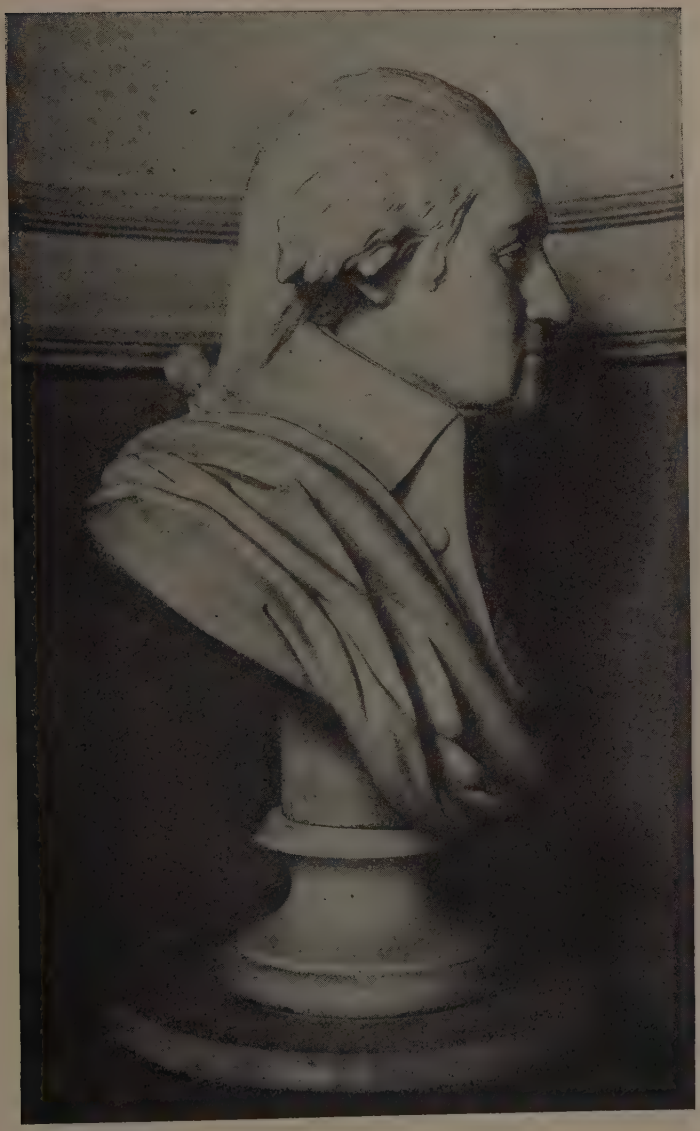
Bust of Washington, by Joseph Wright.

Bust of Washington, front and side views. *By John Echstein.*

John Echstein, second engraver U. S. Mint, 1796, executed from life a miniature bust of Washington, engraved for Indian medal; owned by J. C. Maguire, Washington, D. C.



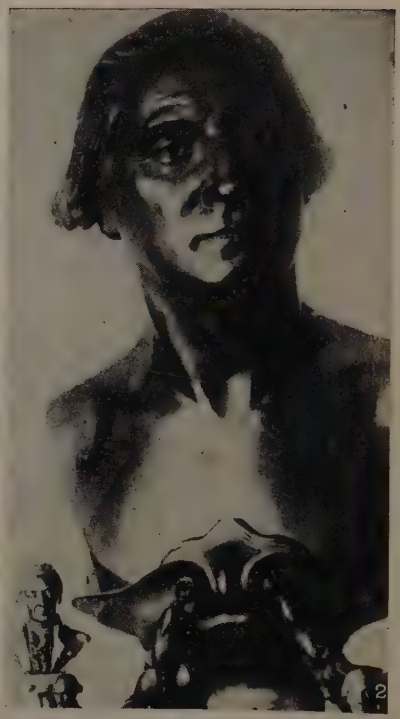
1. By Edward Sheffield Bartholomew, Conn., 1822–1858. Owned by Noah Walker of Baltimore. 2. By J. Q. A. Ward. 3. Wooden statue by William Rush, the wood carver. This is now in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. 4. By Joseph A. Bailey. Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Given by 1st District School, July 4, 1869.

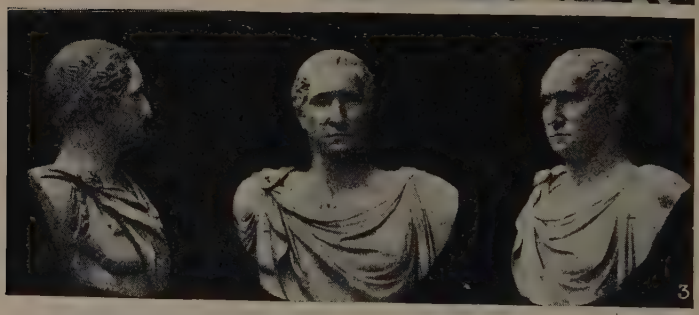


Side view of Ceracchi bust.

Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical Society.

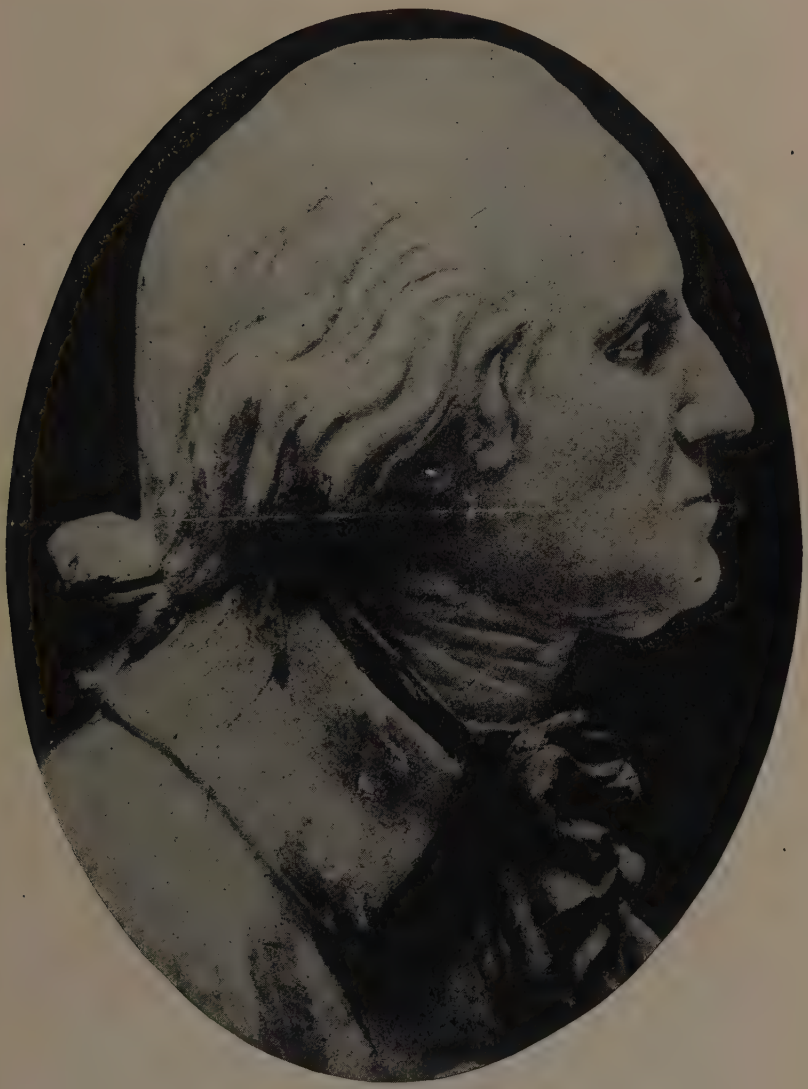
Ceracchi made four busts, each slightly different, and several replicas of each.





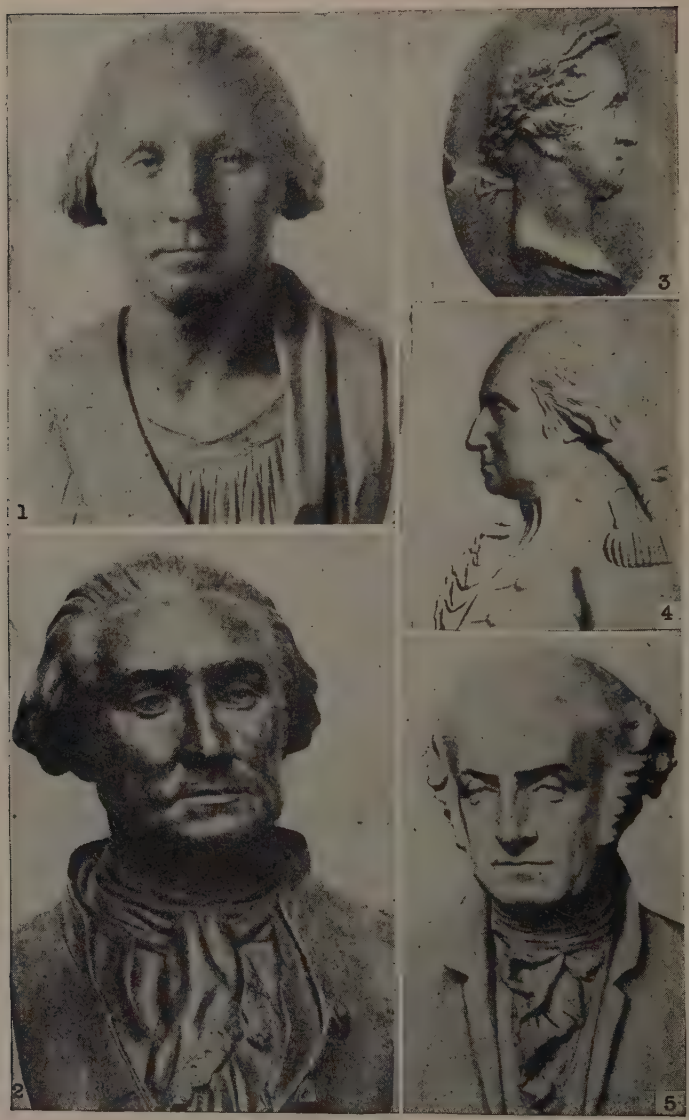
1. Leaden bust, Houdon type. 2. Bronze bust.
3. Bust done in 1791, by Joseph Ceracchi; well liked by Washington.

Ceracchi was a close friend of Canova. His bust of Washington caused Napoleon to ask for a sitting. An intense radical, Ceracchi used the opportunity to bring in an infernal machine to kill Napoleon. The artist was detected, and sent to the guillotine. The first Ceracchi bust is in Congress Hall; cost was $4,000. The second is in the Corcoran Gallery (Hall engraving). The third, a colossal bust, the artist kept.

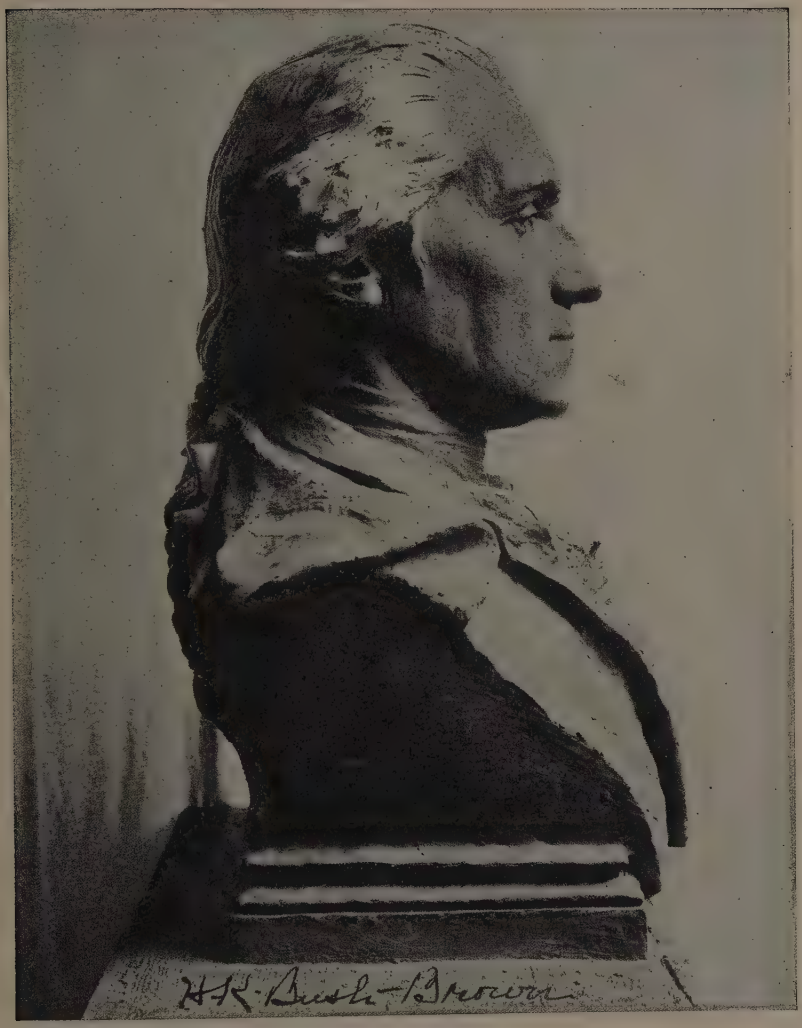


Bust of Washington, carved in wood, by William Rush, Philadelphia, Pa.
Photo by Frank O. Payne.

Made as the figure-head for a ship to be called *Washington.* It was owned by William Young, from whom the City of Philadelphia bought it.

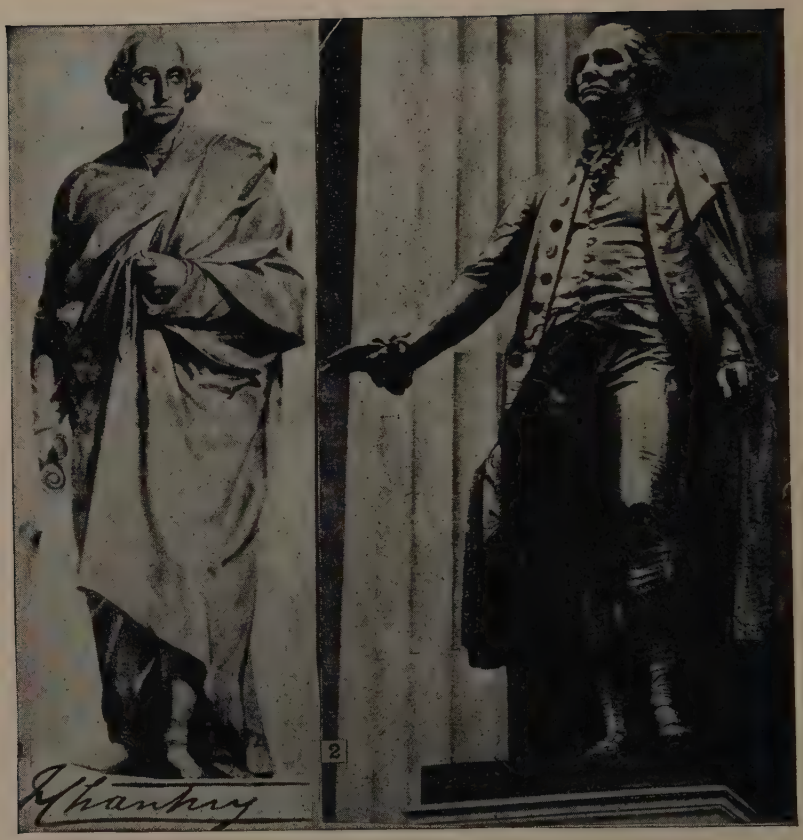


1. Houdon type.
2. Joseph Wright.
3. Unknown.
4. Miller.
5. Unknown.



Courtesy of H. K. Bush-Brown, Washington, D. C.

This bust is now in the artist's studio, Washington, D. C.

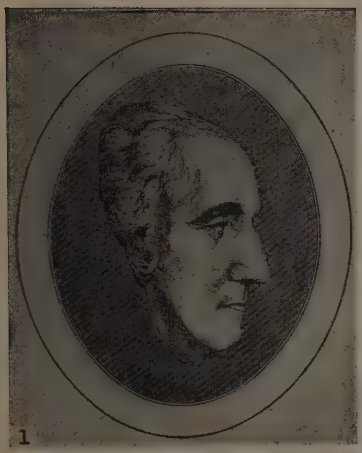


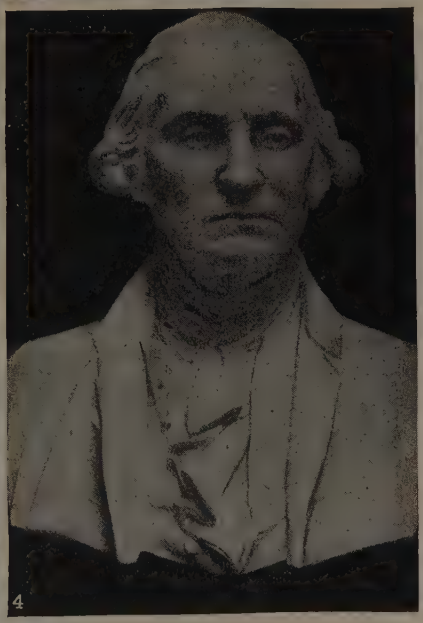
1. Sir Francis Chantrey; England; 1782–1844

The Washington Monument Association of Boston ordered this. Cost, $15,000. Unveiled October, 1827. Engraved by Thomson. In the pavement are memorial stones from the parish church of Brington, presented by the Earl of Spencer to Charles Sumner, February 22, 1861.

2. Statue on front of Sub-Treasury Building, Wall Street, J. Q. A. Ward.

The Metropolitan Museum of New York has a death mask of Washington similar to the above. It belonged to Henry A. Wise of Virginia, and was loaned by Mrs. George A. Shea, of New York City.

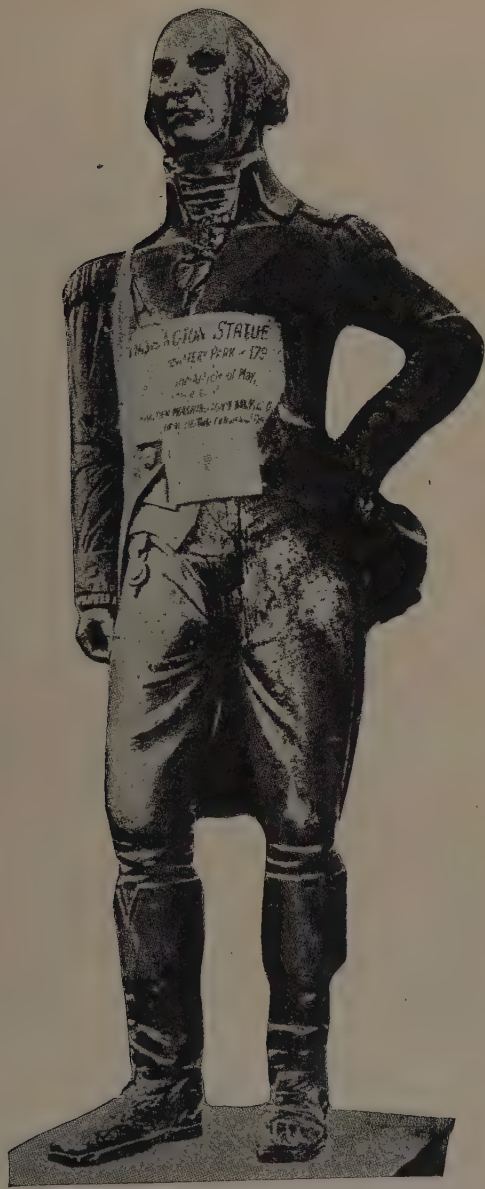




1. Mask of Washington. 2. Bust of Washington, by David d'Angiers, presented by France, February 22, 1805, supposed to have been destroyed in the fire of 1851. Discovered in a dump heap in 1924. 3. Robert I. Aitkens' bust of Washington, designed for the Marysville High School. 4. Bust of Washington by Augustus Lukeman.

An Italian exhibit at the Centennial celebration, Philadelphia, 1876.

At this Exposition various paintings and sculptures of Washington from over seas were exhibited, which attracted wide attention.



Wooden statue, owned by The Historical Society of Delaware; it is nine feet six inches high. For many years it occupied the site on which stood George III, in Bowling Green.

Washington at Valley Forge. *Sculptor, Franklin Simmons,* Rome, 1905.
Courtesy of Rev. W. Herbert Burk.

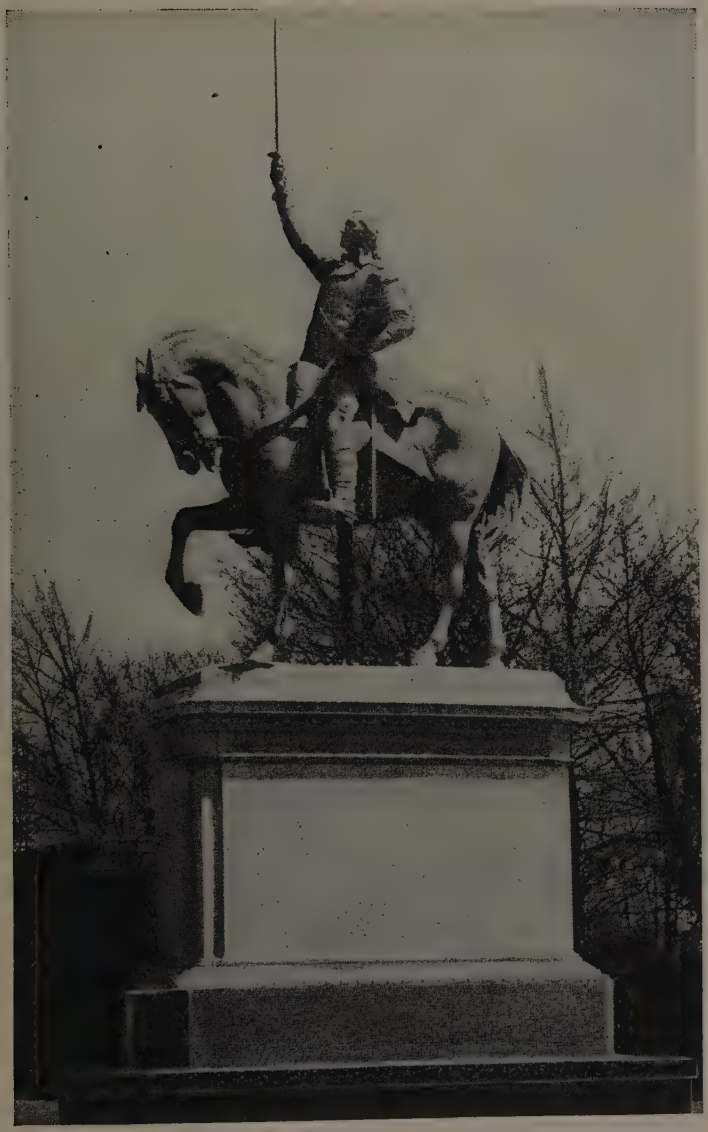
1. Statue after Houdon
2. Profile in silver.
3. Washington Centennial medal, from the bronze of Augustus St. Gaudens.

(See note 1, page 531.)

Statue of Washington in Union Square, New York City. *By Henry Kirke Brown.*
First equestrian statue in the United States, July 4, 1856, cost $31,331.

Note 1 (see page 530)

The Boston gold medal, the first medal of the nation, was voted by Congress to Washington in commemoration of his forcing Boston's evacuation by the British. It was moved by John Adams, a committee of three wrote the letter, but it was ten years before the medal was presented. Fifty Boston citizens purchased it for $5,000 from the widow of George Lawrence Washington, and it is now in the Boston Public Library.



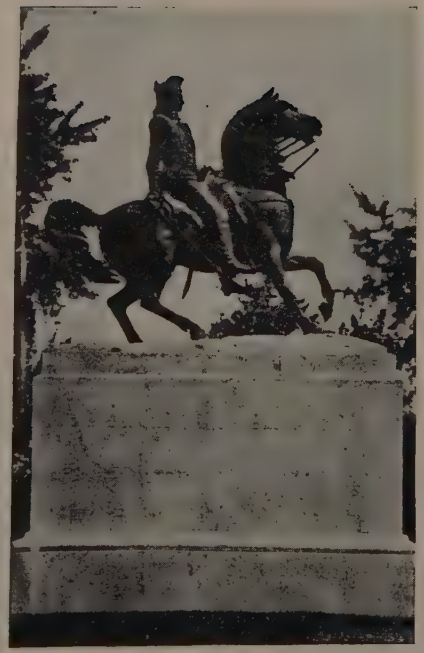
Equestrian statue, presented to Paris in 1900, by an American Patriotic Organization. *Sculptors: D. C. French and E. C. Potter.*

Washington. © *J. Massey Rhines.* Erected in Newark, N. J.

Statues and paintings of Washington number far into the hundreds, and circle the globe.

1. Ball's statue of Washington, in Boston's Public Garden.
2. Fragmentary view of the city of Washington and the Library of Congress.
Courtesy of Foster Reynolds Company

The Ball statue was begun in 1860; finished in 1869. Cost was $42,400. Cast by the Ames Mfg. Co., Chicopee Falls, Mass.



The Clark Mills equestrian statue of Washington in Washington Circle, Washington, D. C., unveiled in 1860, cost $50,000 It shows Washington in the Battle of Princeton. The face is a Houdon.

Firemen's procession passing the Washington Monument, Union Square, New York, September 1, 1858.

Washington Memorial, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, Pa. Cost, $200,000.

The statue surmounting the Richmond monument.

Washington monument in Brooklyn, at the Williamsburg bridge. *By Edward F. Shrady.*

Horatio Greenough's statue of Washington, formerly located east of the Capitol.

The statue at the right was intended to be placed near the crypt in the Capitol, where Washington's body was to rest. Ordered by Congress in 1832, it was finished in 1840 at a cost of $45,000, the sculptor receiving $34,000. It was finally placed on the grounds, though not intended for exposure to the weather. In 1832 Congress endeavored futilely, and for the second time, to have Washington's body moved from Mt. Vernon to the crypt in the Capitol. It was Mrs. Washington who desired the General's body to be buried in the Capitol.

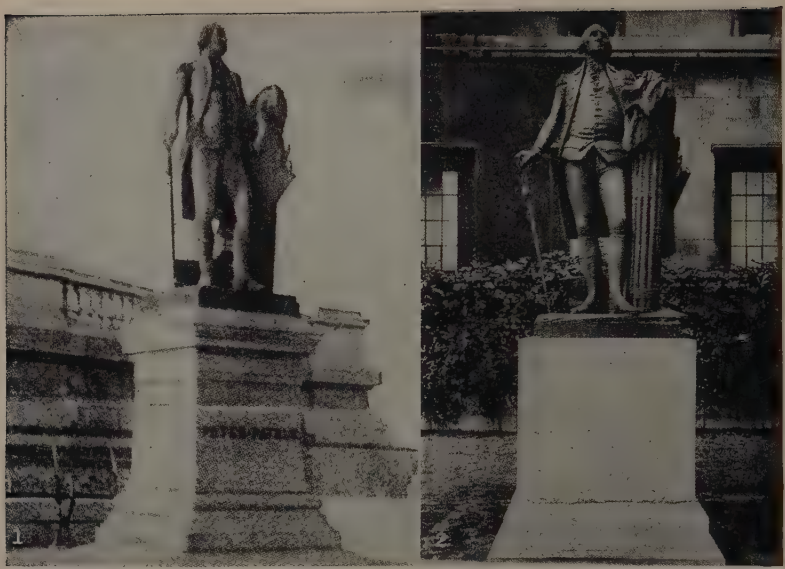
Equestrian statue of Washington, in the Capitol Square in Richmond, Va., February 22, 1858. Cast at Munich. Cost, $259,900.

Sculptor, Thomas Crawford. Design of monument by Robert Mills.

Baltimore Washington monument, finished 1821–1822. The first outdoor memorial erected to Washington.

1. Baltimore monument in perspective.
2. Washington monument, in the little town of Methuen, Massachusetts.

Statue of Washington, in Philadelphia.

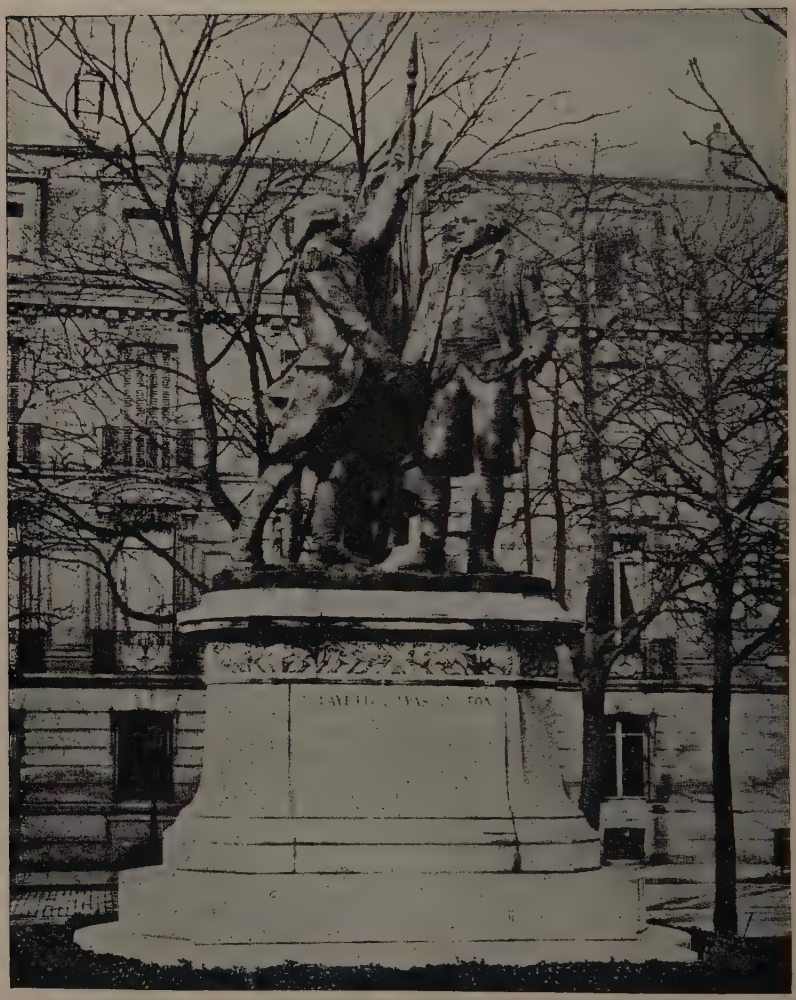


1. Replica of Houdon's Richmond statue, removed from Riverside Drive to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2. Replica of Houdon statue, in Trafalgar Square, London.

The Argentine statue of Washington.

Statute of Washington at Caracas, Venezuela

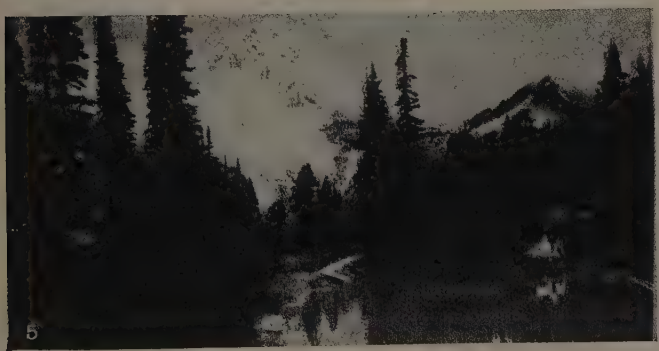
Washington honored in Hungary's capital



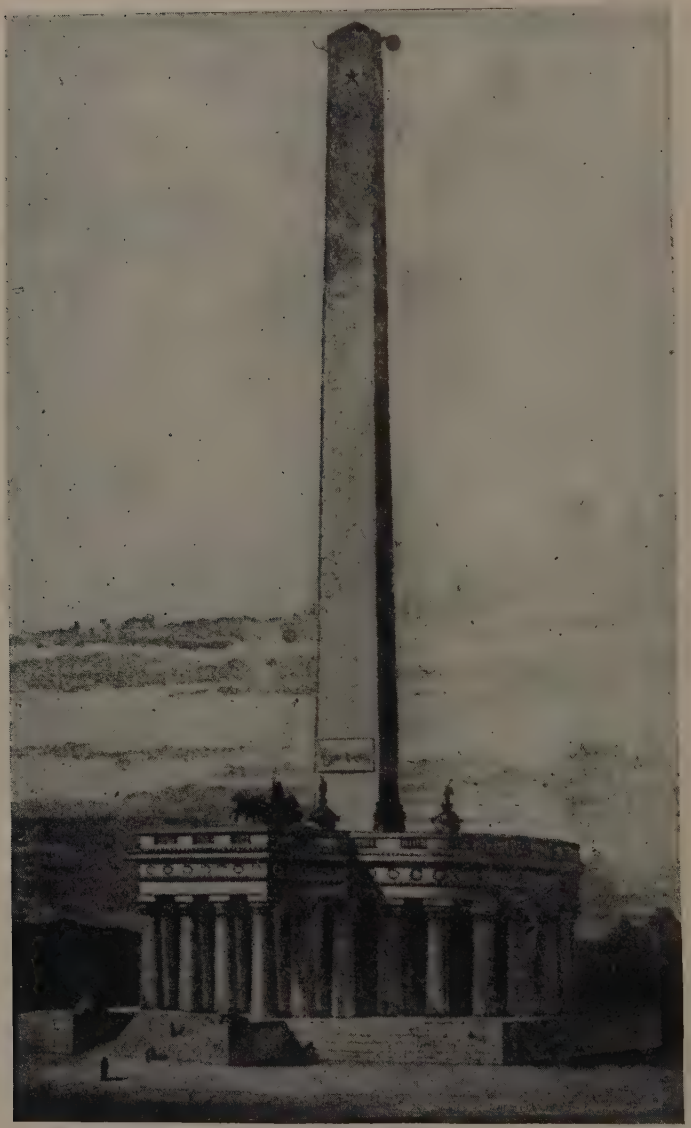
Statue of Washington and Lafayette, in Paris. *By Bartholdi.*
Replica of this is in Morningside Park, New York City.

1. Statue of Washington. *By Pompeo Coppini.* Owner, Henry Waldo Coe, Portland, Oregon. Exhibited at the Sesquicentennial in Philadelphia. 2. Statue of Westerly granite at Allegheny City, Pa. Dedicated February 22, 1891. The first attempt to use granite for a statue of this character. *Edward Pausch, sculptor.*

Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army; Washington Arch, New York.
H. A. MacNeill, Sculptor. McKim, Mead & White, Architects.

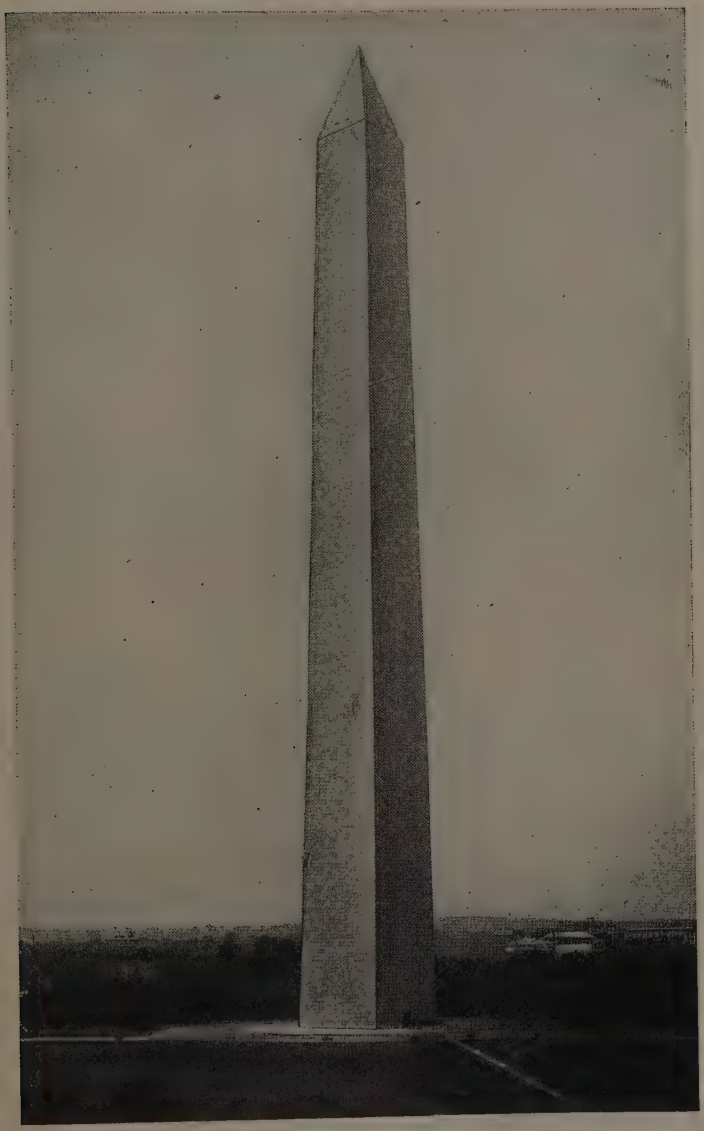


1. The Eastern Washington.
2. The Western Washington, near Los Angeles.
3. Lake of the Clouds, Mount Washington.
4. Tip Top House, Mount Washington.
5. Mount Ranier and Mirror Lake, Washington (State of)
   © *H. L. Toles.*

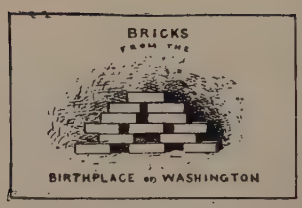


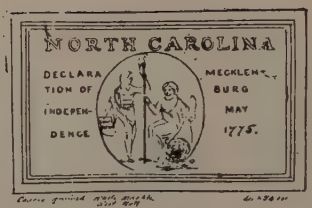
The first design of the Washington Monument, in the City of Washington.

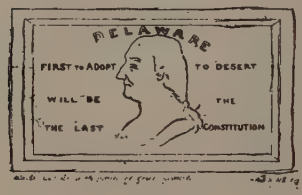
(See note, page 552.)

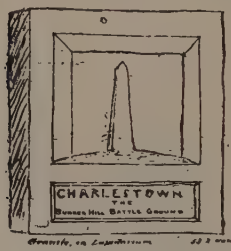


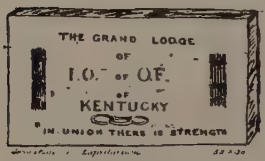
The Washington National Monument, Washington, D. C., as finally erected, 555 feet high. *Courtesy of Foster & Reynolds Company.*

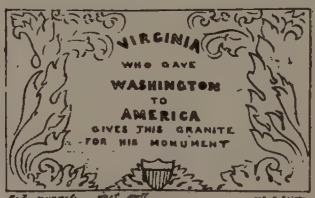


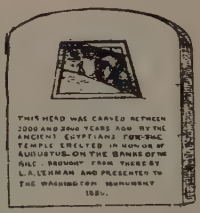










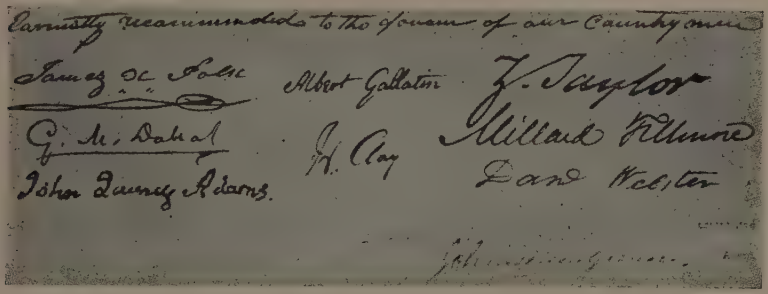


These eleven memorial stones are taken from the one hundred and seventy-nine set on the inner face of the Washington monument, which not only includes forty states but fifteen Masonic lodges, and various other organizations of this and other countries.

Courtesy of Houghton, Mifflin Co.

The Washington Arch, Washington Square, New York

Note from page 549.



Signatures of early advocates of the first design for the Washington Monument.

Aug. 7, 1783, on motion of A. Lee, Virginia, seconded by Bland, it was resolved that ten states present an equestrian statue of Washington to be erected where the residence of Congress should be established.

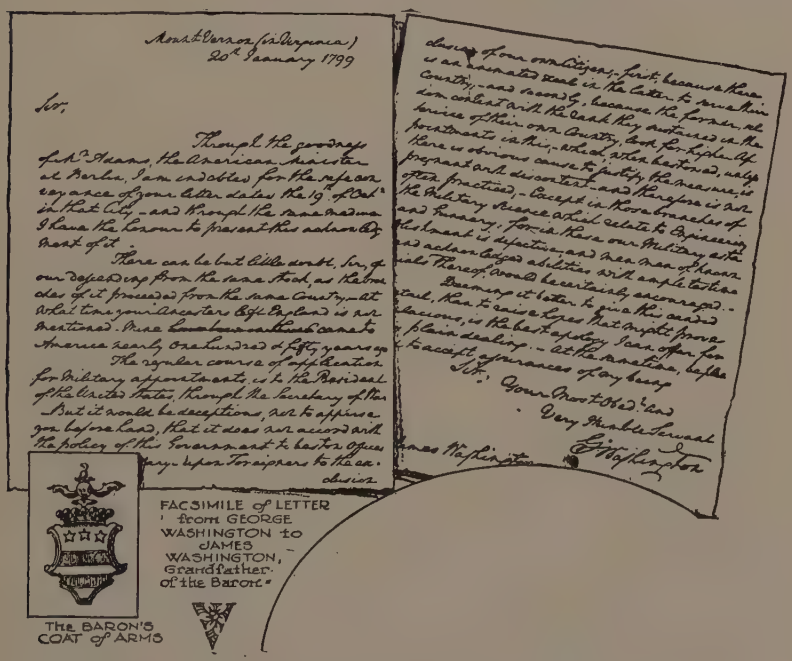
Aside from the Clark Mills statue, nothing was done, and the Washington Monument took its place.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Note A. The Hague Branch of the Washington Family

Germane to the subject of the Washington family tree is the information conveyed in the writings of George Washington Parke Custis to the effect that a James Washington, who was



Washington's reply to a Dutch Washington, who applied for an army post.
Courtesy of the New York Times.

obliged to fly from England either in 1683 or 1684, during the reign of Charles II, emigrated to Rotterdam and became the founder of the Holland branch of the Washingtons. This branch of the family, the founder of which left England some twenty-five

years later than John Washington, displayed not a little of the stamina of the American Washingtons.

Strangely do George Washington's letters come to light in various parts of the world, sometimes after lying hidden for more than a century in some old family chest or the musty pigeonholes of a secretaire long unused; and always do they appear as winged messengers bearing some new evidence of their writer's high moral code. The interesting photostat reproduced on page 555 reveals a recently discovered letter written by George Washington at Mount Vernon in January, 1799,—less than a year before his death,—to a James Washington at The Hague; a descendant of the Dutch branch who had expressed a desire to dispose of his military services to his distinguished kinsman in America. This remarkable document clearly shows that Washington did not allow himself to be swayed by nepotism, however interested he may have been in his foreign connections.

(*Transcript*)

Mount Vernon (in Virginia)
20th January, 1799

Sir:

Through the goodness of Mr. Adams, the American Minister at Berlin, I am indebted for the safe conveyance of your letter, dated the 19th of October in that city—and through the same medium I have the honor to present this acknowledgment of it.

There can be but little doubt, Sir, of our descending from the same stock, as the branches of it proceeded from the same country. At what time your ancestors left England is not mentioned. Mine came to America nearly one hundred and fifty years ago.

The regular course of application for military appointments is to the President of the United States, through the Secretary of War. But it would be deceptious not to apprise you beforehand that it does not accord with the policy of our Government to bestow offices, civil or military, upon foreigners to the exclusion of our own citizens; first, because there is animated zeal in the latter to serve their country; and secondly, seldom content with the task they sustained in their own country, they look for higher appointments in this, which, when bestowed, unless there is obvious cause to justify the measure, is pregnant with discontent, and therefore is not often practiced—except in those branches of the military science which relate to engineering and gunnery; for in these our military establishment is defective, and men of acknowledged abilities with ample testimonials thereof, would be certainly encouraged.

Deeming it better to give this candid detail than to raise hopes that might prove fallacious is the best apology I can offer for my plain dealing. At the same time be pleased to accept assurances of my being

Sir,

Your Most Obedt and
Very Humble Servant
G. Washington.

Note B. Ancestry of Mary Ball Washington

Colonel Joseph Ball, father of Mary Ball, was a vestryman of Christ Church, Lancaster, Virginia. Folklore asserts that he was a descendant of John Ball, the Mystic, popularly known as "the mad preacher of Kent," who was imprisoned for his freedom of speech. Set at liberty by Watt Tyler and Jack Straw in the insurrection of 1381, he joined them in leading one hundred thousand Kentish men in a revolt in which the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury was sacked. All three leaders paid for this act with their heads, which were impaled on London Bridge.

Note C. Chain of Title to the Wakefield Property

Augustine Washington, half-brother of George, inherited this property from his father, Augustine, and left it to his son, William Augustine, who in turn left it to his son, George Corbin Washington.

It was sold to outsiders, and in 1840 was bought at a Trustees' Sale by the executors of the estate of Daniel Payne, and so came into possession of his daughter, Betty, who in 1845 married Dr. William Wirt, son of the ex-Attorney-General William Wirt who in Andrew Jackson's administration represented the Cherokee Nation.

In 1846 this Washington (Wakefield) farm was sold by Dr. Wirt to John F. Wilson of Anne Arundel County, Maryland; who gave the farm to his son, John E. Wilson, who had married Betty Washington, granddaughter of William Augustine Washington. Thus did the birthplace of Washington return to the Washington blood. To Mrs. Betty Washington Wilson's son, Latane Wilson, came the property; and—doubtless through family connections—the present owners, the Latane brothers,

finally obtained it. It is to-day a stock farm, on which are raised blooded cattle, prize poultry, etc.

Note D. The Reverend Mason Locke Weems ('Parson' Weems), Originator of the "Cherry Tree" Story

Weems' "Biography of Washington" was the earliest history ever written of our First President. It was based upon Weems' personal knowledge of Washington and his family, and upon his intimate association with such staunch friends of Washington as Fitzhugh Lee, of Stafford, and other representative Virginians. It is probable that Washington saw much of Weems' manuscript; but it is not recorded that he voiced any drastic criticism of it, although Weems' fancy had a marked tendency to roam afield. The book was published in 1801, about two years after Washington's death, and went through many editions.

It is related that when Abraham Lincoln—who profoundly reverenced Washington—saw Parson Weems' book in the home of his former teacher, Mr. Crawford, he borrowed it, though under strict injunctions from its owner to give it the best of care. Lincoln practically learned its contents by heart. For safe keeping, he placed it in a crevice between the logs of his cabin wall. It was, however, damaged by a violent storm; and old "Bluenose Crawford," as his pupils sometimes called him, took his "pound of flesh" in forfeit, cannily making Lincoln give him two whole days' work, pulling cattle fodder.

March 3, 1787, Washington writes in his diary:

> "The Rev. Mr. Weems and Dr. Craik, who came here yesterday in the afternoon, left this about noon for Port Tobacco."

The Reverend Mason Locke Weems was wont to style himself "rector of Mount Vernon,"—evidently in facetious mood, for there was no such rector. He was, however, for a short time rector of Pohick Church. The dominie has occasionally been pictured as a sort of mountebank, but this is untrue and unjust. He was often a welcome guest in some of the best homes in Virginia, where his vagaries were regarded with good-humored tolerance.

In addition to his "Biography of Washington," Weems wrote a "Life of General Marion," and several startlingly-titled novels.

NOTE E.

General Braddock is generally believed to have been slain by his own men, accidentally. In like manner, General "Stonewall" Jackson met his death at Chancellorsville, near Fredericksburg, in the War of the States. Jackson, who preferred to be called "Professor" by his men, upon one occasion threatened to courtmartial any soldier who addressed him as General—a fact personally vouched for to the author by a Confederate officer of rank who fought in the trenches, on the Heights of Fredericksburg, and throughout the Wilderness campaign in 1864 and 1865, and who is now living in the historic city of Fredericksburg.

NOTE F. MRS. CUSTIS' HOME, THE ORIGINAL "WHITE HOUSE"

It is said to have been in compliment to the wife of General Washington that the Executive Mansion at Washington, D. C., was named "The White House," and has ever since been so called. It was built for the Presidential residence, but was not completed at the time of Washington's death. John Adams was the first President to occupy it.

The White House at New Kent, in which Washington wooed and won the charming widow Custis, and which our First President and his bride occupied for several months after the wedding, later became the property of George Washington Parke Custis, and was bequeathed by him to his daughter, Mrs. Robert E. Lee, wife of the Confederate Commander. In the War of the States this historic mansion was destroyed by Union soldiers, supposedly of McClellan's command; who must either have applied the torch after dark or else wilfully ignored the placard which had been affixed to the door:

> "IN THIS HOUSE GEORGE WASHINGTON AND MARTHA DANDRIDGE WERE UNITED IN MARRIAGE. WHETHER YOU BE FRIEND OR FOE, SPARE IT FROM THE DEPREDATIONS OF WAR."

It is difficult to believe that an army would deliberately destroy a home for which Washington must ever have entertained sentiments of sincere affection. It seems more charitable to assume that

an isolated band of ruffians or inebriated soldiery destroyed the mansion in ignorance or drunken wantonness.

It is probable that the new White House, which stands on the site of the original dwelling, was planned on lines similar to those of its predecessor.

Note G. George Washington's Real Estate

George Washington's real estate holdings were varied and extensive. In addition to Mount Vernon, with its several plantations and farms, he owned the Bull Skin Farm of five hundred and fifty acres, in Frederick County, and the Ferry (Pine Grove) Farm on the Rappahannock,—home of his early youth,—consisting of two hundred and eighty acres.[1] To his fifteen thousand acres of grant land in the near West, Washington added fifteen thousand more, bought from soldiers who had similarly received them as grant land and were eager to sell.

Washington also had interests in the Ohio Company (in which his brother Lawrence had had large holdings); in the Walpole grant, and the Dismal Swamp; besides owning town lots in Federal City (now Washington, D. C.). On two of these lots Washington erected buildings, which were burned when the British captured the city in 1814. The General also owned lots in Alexandria, exclusive of other town property. At the time of his death his total holdings, exclusive of Mount Vernon and Mrs. Washington's property, amounted to fifty-one thousand, three hundred and ninety-five (51,395) acres, all honestly acquired. It was an era of land speculation, when acres were sold and sometimes resold for the proverbial "song";[2] and Washington, with whom the possession of land was a ruling passion, bought whenever the opportunity offered. George Rogers Clark said that in one of his Western trips Washington property seemed to greet him from every hilltop. Among these widely-scattered holdings was the site of Fort Necessity.

[1] Now three hundred and twenty-five acres, states the present owner, Mr. J. B. Colbert.

[2] Land speculation involved many patriots in financial disaster after the Revolutionary War.

Note H. George Washington Parke Custis and his Home, Arlington

At the age of twenty-three G. W. P. Custis married Mary Lee Fitzhugh, daughter of William Lee Fitzhugh of Chatham, near Fredericksburg; whose fine old family mansion stands on the west bank of the Rappahannock.[1] The Colonial columned façade has been replaced by a front modelled on that of Chatham House in England.

George Washington Parke Custis, in his maturity, was a man of marked refinement and culture; a dilettante in the fine arts, essaying poetry, painting, literature and oratory with equal enthusiasm. Becoming a painter at seventy years of age, he produced—although entirely self-taught—five or six battle scenes associated with the life of his illustrious foster-father: Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, Washington at Yorktown and the Yorktown Surrender. All of these pictures are still to be seen at Arlington House, the beautiful home which he built and in which he lived.

The poetic and imaginative nature of Washington Custis are revealed in that romantic episode of the Washington memorial stone—when he toiled up the steep bank at Wakefield, leading a group of Revolutionary soldiers, staggering under the weight of the huge stone, draped with the Stars and Stripes, and saw it reverently placed on the site of George Washington's birthplace.[2]

George Washington Parke Custis' only surviving child, Mary Ann Randolph Custis, became the wife of Colonel Robert E. Lee, later General Lee, Commander of the Confederate Army and adored son of the South.[3] George Washington Parke Custis died at Arlington, of pneumonia, on the tenth of October, 1857. He was seventy-six years old.

John Custis, father of Daniel Custis (Mrs. Washington's first husband) and great-grandfather of Washington Custis, seems to

[1] The present owner, Col. D. B. Devore of Washington has brought the present estate back to its old time perfection.

[2] See Vol. I, page 63, footnote 3.

[3] General Scott held a very high opinion of Lee's ability, and hoped to place him at the head of the Union Army. But when Virginia threw in her lot with the Southern States, Lee—a firm believer in State rights—joined the Confederacy.

1. Mary Ann Randolph Custis, daughter of G. W. P. Custis.
2. General Robert E. Lee, her husband.
3. Arlington house, home of G. W. Parke Custis.

© *Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22 — A.F. & A.M.*

have taken a misanthropic view of life; for he had carved on his tombstone, after his name and station:

"Aged 71 years
"Yet lived but seven years; which was the space of time he kept bachelor's home at Arlington, on the east shore of Virginia."

1. Monument to the unknown dead in the War of the States.
2. Field of the Dead.

© *Foster Reynolds Company.*

The tragic part of the history of Arlington House began when the war clouds of 1861 gathered about it. The tax law, by which property owners were compelled to appear in person in order to pay taxes, was the beginning of the end. General Robert E. Lee owed a tax bill of $92.07; and as he was then at the head of the

Confederate Army and absent in the field, the property was put up for sale at auction. The Government bid it in for $26,800 in January, 1864.

After years of litigation, General George Washington Custis Lee, son of General Robert E. Lee, received from the United States Government, in October, 1882, $150,000 for the property; and stately Arlington, free from the stain of confiscation, became the Military Cemetery of the United States—the most impressive and most magnificently situated cemetery in the world. Here, in one of the loveliest spots on earth, sleep some of America's most

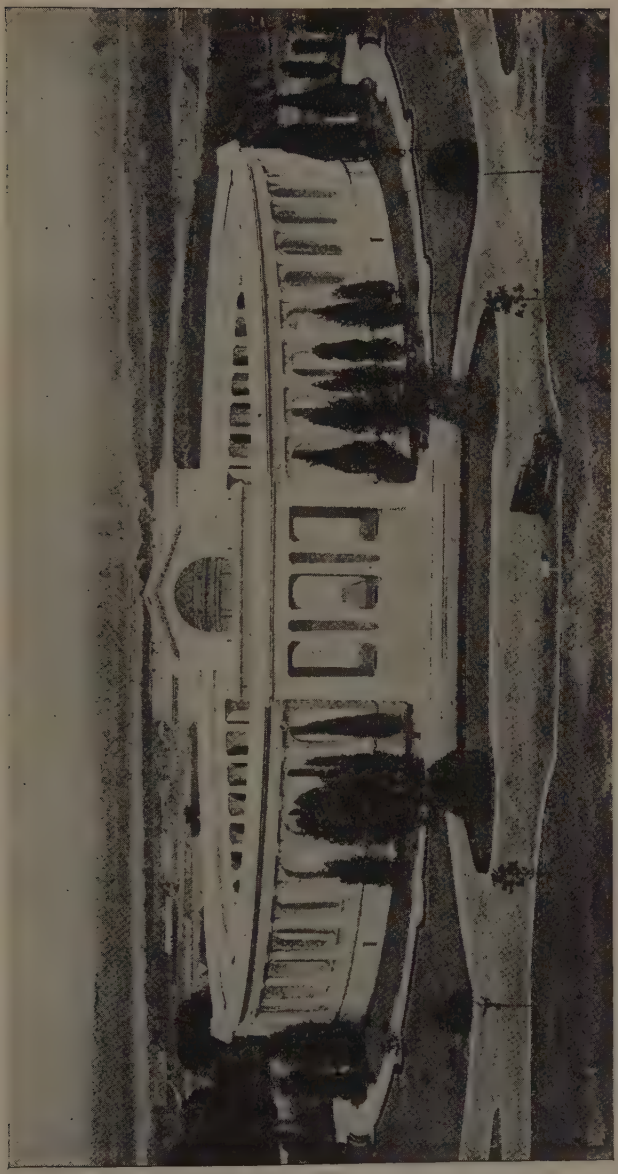
Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the World War.
© *Foster Reynolds Company.*

revered patriots, and most renowned heroes; many unknown dead in the War of the States. Here, too, is the last resting place of America's "Unknown Soldier"—nameless hero of the great World War.

The chain of title to Arlington goes back to December 25, 1775, when

> "John Parke Custis, son of Martha Washington, purchased from Gerard Alexander 1100 acres for 1100 pounds, Virginia currency."

The eleven hundred acres adjoined Mr. Custis' home farm, Abingdon, on the west. At his death the property descended to his only son, G. W. P. Custis; and on its highest eminence the inheritor, when grown to man's estate, erected Arlington House.



Memorial amphitheatre at Arlington. © *Bondy & Sons.*

Note I. Views of English Public Men of To-day on the Revolutionary War

David Lloyd George, in the course of his visit to America in 1923, made this illuminating utterance in one of his speeches:

> "Canada enjoys practical independence; other Colonies are independent partners in the Empire. This the British Empire owes to the United States. The free people of this great free country taught us that lesson in the eighteenth century, and, so far from any resentment, any feeling of regret in British hearts, we have nothing but a feeling of gratitude to the great men who founded this great Republic, and in doing so *taught Britain how to govern a free people.*"

Sir Esme Howard, British Ambassador to the United States, declares that the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781 was a gain, rather than a loss, for Great Britain, since a British victory at Yorktown would have had the effect of continuing a struggle that in the end would have proved fruitless, while England would have exhausted her resources in the effort to hold Colonies that no longer regarded her with affection. Sir Esme continues:

> "The thought of Yorktown no longer carries with it, for any Englishman, one particle of sorrow or bitterness for defeat, but rather one of gratitude that two countries have been able to develop, each along its own lines, in continuous peace for over one hundred years—a peace which, with God's help and our strong endeavor, never again will be broken."

Sir George Trevelyan, the British historian, said, in 1925:

> "The loss of the war in America saved British liberties at home. The King, discredited by the fall of Yorktown, retired in 1782 to something very near his grandfather's place in the Constitution."

Note J. A Volunteer Militia or a Standing Army?

That was the question facing the United States Government when Brevet-Major Emery Upton was sent abroad to study how masters of the science of war in the Old World guarded their territory and held the rabble in check. General Upton's unanswerable argument for an adequate standing army, as set forth in his work "The Military Policy of the United States," shattered many false gods, tore to shreds venerated fabrications that had clothed

many heroes, and turned the searchlight of truth on long-hidden war skeletons. In the process of dragging from pigeonholes of the War Department-the musty records of a hundred and fifty years, General Upton proved three points:

1.—That without a George Washington to cope with the unparalleled stupidity and effrontery of short-term volunteer militiamen, America might still be a Colony of Great Britain, an outlet for the manufactures of the Mother-Country and restricted to producing raw materials; instead of being the world's leader in production of raw materials, in manufactures, and in wealth.

2.—That the American Colonist was indisputably the personification of bravery and loyalty, but not a seasoned warrior; thus he was, at times, badly stampeded. General Putnam, protecting his men with rail breastworks, said:

> "These Americans are never afraid for their heads; they only think of their legs. Shelter their legs, and they will fight forever."

(This saying was often quoted during the Revolutionary War.)

3.—That the lack of an adequate standing army dragged us into and unnecessarily lengthened the wars with Great Britain, the Indian uprisings, the war with Mexico, the War of the States and the war with Spain.

These astounding statements are readily proved to be founded upon truth when Washington's letters and the letters of other qualified experts on the military question, or the files of records in the War Department at Washington, are studied.

A false estimate of the value of the militia was given in the running fight of Lexington and Concord, in which the militia loss was eighty-eight against the British two hundred and twenty-three; followed by the British loss at Bunker Hill of two hundred and twenty-six officers and men killed and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, while the American loss was less than half that number. In sustained warfare the results were far different. The whole militia system was bitterly arraigned by Washington. Writing from Boston, he said:

> "I am sorry to mention the egregious want of public spirit. Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country, which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted at the most critical time."

In November, 1775, he wrote to Congress:

"After the last of this month our lines will be so weakened that the minute men and militia must be called in for their defense, and these, being under no kind of government themselves, will destroy what little subordination I have been laboring to establish."

Again he wrote:

"Nothing can surpass the impatience of the troops to get to their firesides. Nearly three hundred of them arrived a few days ago unable to do any duty, but as soon as I had administered that grand specific, a discharge, they instantly acquired health, and, rather than be detained a few days to cross Lake George, undertook a march of two hundred miles with the greatest alacrity."

Washington scored the bounty system, calling it the twin of desertion, but was finally compelled to indorse it as a necessary, though frequently calamitous, method of raising troops.[1] Upon one occasion he wrote:

"We are now left with a good deal less than half-raised regiments and about five thousand militia, who only stand engaged to the middle of this month, when, according to custom, they will retire, whether the necessity for their staying be ever so urgent."

From other letters written by Washington we quote the following excerpts:

"The militia was more hurtful than helpful to the cause of Independence"

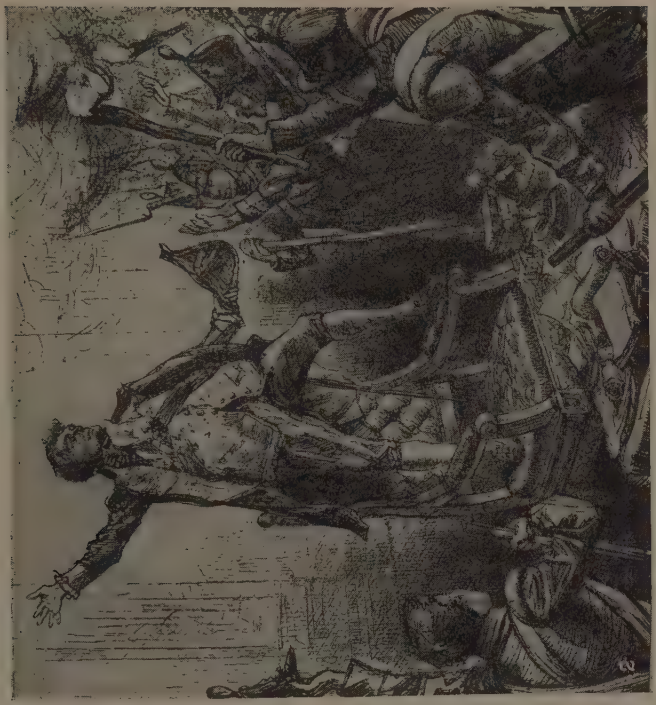
"Our liberties must be greatly handicapped, if not entirely lost, if their defense is left to anything but a permanent standing army—I mean, one to exist during the war."

"This event[2] shows the fateful consequences of depending on militia; regular troops alone are equal to the exigencies of modern war. No militia will ever acquire the habits necessary to resist a regular force. The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be attained by a course of discipline and training."

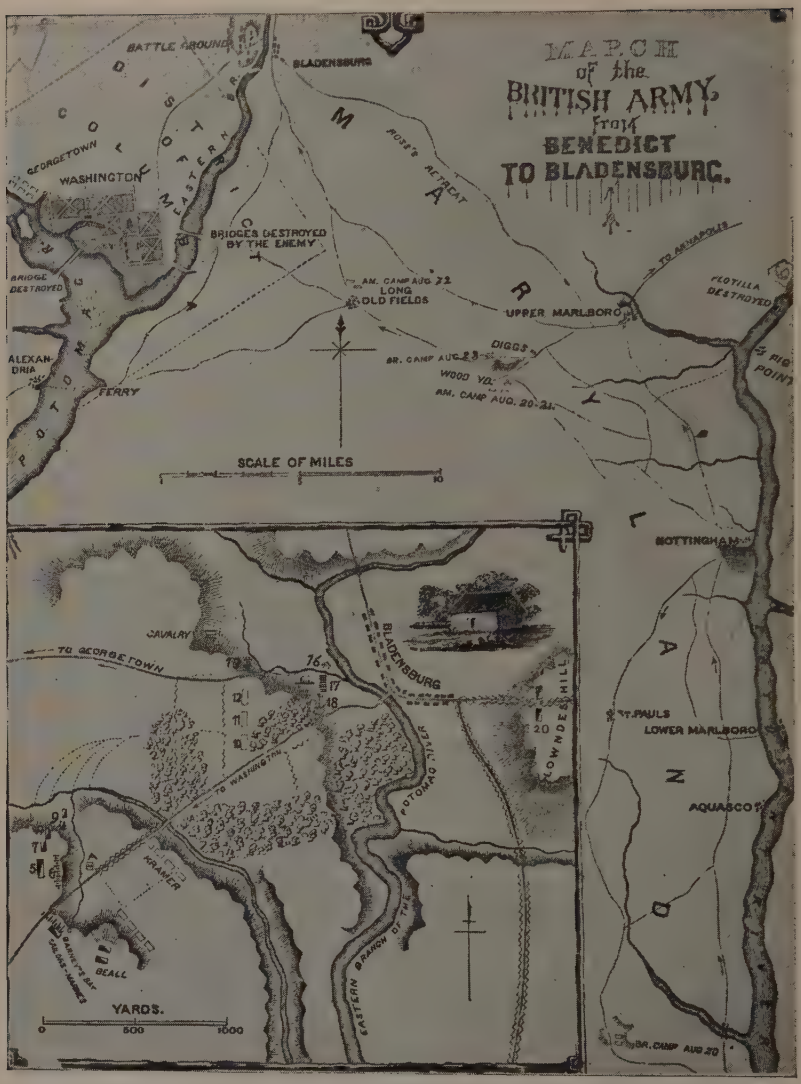
The United States is no longer untaught; the lesson has been learned at enormous cost in both blood and dollars.

[1] During the War of the States the bounty system leaped to outrageous heights. Three acquaintances of the author—mere lads—each received a three thousand dollar bounty, though hardly able to stagger under the weight of a gun, and serving less than three months.

[2] At Camden, where Gates led his militia in flight from the field.



1. Admiral Alexander Cockburn. 2. Admiral Cockburn holding a mock session in the halls of Congress. © *Charles Scribner's Sons.*



Plan of battlefield of Bladensburg and outlying land and water approaches to Washington.

And, finally, General "Light Horse Harry" Lee had this to say on the subject:

> "That Government is a murderer of its citizens who sends them into the field uninformed and untaught."

Our war history proves the soundness of Washington's opinion that it is folly to depend on militia alone, as exampled when Admiral Cockburn with a small force terrorized Washington, burned the White House, and held a mock session in Congress, and at Bladensburg, when four thousand British regulars drove

1. Burning of Washington by the British in 1814.
2. Dolly Madison saving Washington's portrait.

before them the militia, and captured Washington. Again, at Bull Run, in the War of the States, green Northern troops met disaster when facing a well-drilled army.

Note K. The Virginia Gazette

The Virginia Gazette was one of the first newspapers ever published in the South. Established in Williamsburg about 1736 by a Williamsburger, one William Parks, it was for a long time the only local paper, and met with such marked favor among colonists that its owner later erected a paper mill where he made the paper on which the Gazette was printed.[1] The gossipy sheet

[1] In 1776 the Virginia Gazette was printed by Alexander Purdie. It is still being published; it is said, in connection with the William Parks School of Journalism of William and Mary College, Williamsburg.

was welcomed throughout the Virginia countryside. One issue startled its readers with an effusion suggested by the marriage

1. Humiliating rout of the Federal Militia at Bull Run, July 21, 1861.
2. Helter-skelter retreat across Long Bridge. 3. Monument at Bull Run.

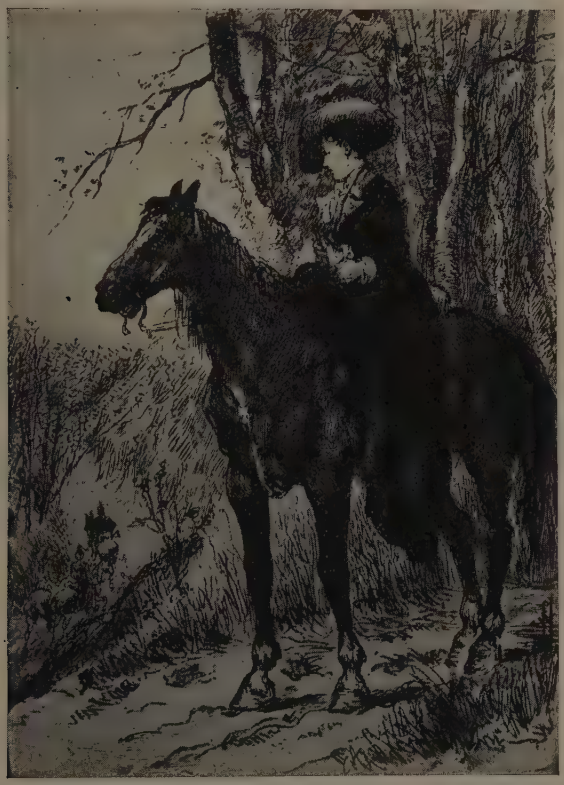
of Mildred Willis, of Fredericksburg (a descendant of Mildred Washington's only son), with one of her near-of-kin. It was written by a "Miss L. B.," of Fredericksburg:

"My husband's my uncle, my father's my brother;
I also am sister unto my own mother;

I am sister and aunt to a brother named John,
To whom wit and good nature combined both belong.
This paradox, strange as it may be to you,
Any day that you please I can prove to be true."[1]

Note L. Brave Colonial Women

Like stars in a midnight sky, the loyalty and courage of Colonial women shine through the gloom of the Continentals' darkest



A loyal American spy aiding General Sumter. © *Charles Scribner's Sons.*

hours. From Mary Lindley Murray to "the artillery woman" at Monmouth (known in history as Molly Pitcher) and "Captain

[1] Early marriages, which were often family intermarriages, seem to have been popular among the Washington connections.

Molly" Corbin of Washington Heights, all were self-sacrificing and devoted to the cause.

Esther de Berdt Reed (wife of Washington's one-time military secretary, Colonel Joseph Reed) led all the rest in rendering efficient aid to the wounded, ragged and often starving Continentals. It was she who placed two "hard" dollars in each shirt of a consignment destined for the soldiers; but General Washington, foreseeing that this would serve to breed dissatisfaction among

Rebecca Motte, furnishing the bow and arrows that set fire to her beautiful home.
© *Charles Scribner's Sons.*

troops accustomed to receive only depreciated paper money as payment for their services, requested that no more be sent.

Mrs. Sarah Franklin Bache was another devoted "Red Cross" worker among the Revolutionary soldiers—long before the present efficient Red Cross service was dreamed of; and brave Elizabeth Kane, who risked her life in carrying powder to the defenders of Fort Henry in the final engagement of the Revolution, has her own place on the Colonial roll of honor.

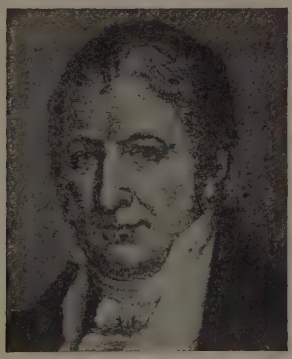
Then there was Rebecca Motte, whose splendid Southern home—after the siege of Charleston—had been seized and gar-

risoned by Lord Cornwallis, who called it Fort Motte. When General Marion informed Mrs. Motte that her home would have to be destroyed in order to compel the British to surrender, she handed him a bow and a sheaf of flax-wrapped arrows—the latter to be set aflame and shot, burning, into the roof of the mansion.

General Sumter, the "Carolina Gamecock," in his encounter with Tarleton at Blackstock Hill, on the Tiger River, owed much to the information received from an unnamed Southern woman spy, who rode her horse through the forest to a point whence she could watch the movements of the British column, then galloped at the risk of her life to tell the General what she had learned.

Note M. General Nathaniel Greene and his Wife

It was in the home of the Greenes, in Georgia, that Eli Whitney invented the first cotton gin, his inspiration coming from Mrs.



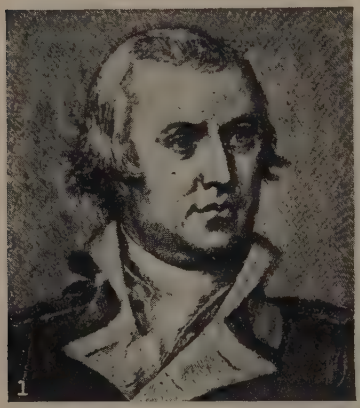
Eli Whitney, inventor of the cotton gin, made in the Greene home, Georgia.

Greene, who explained the crude method in use at that time and encouraged the inventor to experiment along new lines.

The State of Georgia granted a large tract of land to General Greene in recognition of his services to the United States, and after his death in 1786 the Government voted him a monument; but when—many years afterward—Congress evinced a disposition to redeem the promise, his burial place had been obliterated by time and neglect, and the monument was not built; although

the State of Georgia erected a monument to his memory at Savannah.

In 1900 Asa Bird Gardiner, with the support of the Order of the Cincinnati of Rhode Island (the patriot's birthplace), made a search for General Greene's grave, duplicating in earnestness



1. General Nathaniel Greene.
2. Mrs. Nathaniel Greene, wife of the general.

and patriotic spirit General Porter's successful quest in Paris for the grave of John Paul Jones, and finally discovered it.

Note N. Personal Relics of General Washington which were Sold at Auction at Mount Vernon in July, 1802, Following the Death of Mrs. Washington, Preparatory to Turning the Estate over to the Heir, Bushrod Washington, in Accordance with the Terms of General Washington's Will.

Private sales which took place upstairs among the Legatees, to be settled on the final adjustment, without interest, 22nd July, 1802.

L. Lewis	One inkstand	$10.00
B. Ashton	One box military pictures	10.00
Dr. Peyton	One box plotting instruments	20.00
Capt. Hammond	Small case for razors	7.00
Robert Lewis	Small pistols	31.00
Sam Washington	A seal	36.00

SURVEYING INSTRUMENTS

Owned by State Board of Education of New York

Used by GEORGE WASHINGTON In the Building of Roads

Copy of pen-written statement pasted inside of cover of an instrument box

"The instruments contained in this box, together with a case of protracting instruments in a shagreen case, two surveyors' chains and the wooden pins used with the same, were the property of General Washington, and used by him when a very young man.

"These instruments descended to my father, Colonel William A. Washington (the General's eldest nephew), and from him to me, and by me presented to my son, Lewis W. Washington, Febry. 10th, 1854. (Signed)

G. C. WASHINGTON."

Georgetown, D. C.
Feby. 10, 1854.

Box of Surveying Instruments

This oaken box, fourteen and a half inches long by seven and a half inches wide and four inches deep, contained, besides a compass, various instruments, all of brass, such as a scale of parts, parallel ruler, spirit-level, etc. Washington commenced his studies in surveying when he was fourteen years of age, as appears from a ms. volume of his "Book of Surveys, 1746," now at the Cornell University. Lord Fairfax appointed him surveyor for his own lands, with a compensation of three dollars and fifty cents a day, when he had just entered his sixteenth year, and he became public surveyor of the province, after two years' service with Lord Fairfax, for the three following years.

Pocket Protecting Instruments

A case of mathematical instruments covered with shagreen, with silver hinge and hasp, the same in form as is still sold for students.

Surveyor's Compass

This compass, which was contained in the box above mentioned, has engraved on its face, "D. Rittenhouse, Philadelphia." Its maker, David Rittenhouse, was the distinguished astronomer, who became President of the American Philosophical Society, and was a Commissioner to define the boundary between Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York in 1769-70. He was born in the same year as Washington, and was engaged in the manufacture of mathematical instruments and clocks at an early period as the former commenced surveying. It is impossible to say whether this compass was manufactured by him before he opened an establishment in Philadelphia in 1770, as there is no date upon it. His first shop was opened in city, in 1751.

Surveyor's Tripod

This is made of oak, mounted with brass. The three legs are each in two sections, with brass screws to unite them, for the purpose of easy transportation on horseback. In the original inventory it was described as "Jacob's staff."

Measuring iron chains, the large sized one, 33 feet 2 inches long; the small size, 30 feet long. This is the first used by him, and probably some of the links have rusted off. Also, six wooden marking pins, of ash.

A LETTER FROM THE LATE A. S. DRAPER, COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, STATE OF NEW YORK

Albany, December 5, 1910.

MR. T. HUGH BOWMAN,
Highway Engineer,
Claypool House,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of December 2, I have pleasure in advising you that the surveying instruments of Washington, in the custody of this Department, were photographed by our Visual Instruction Division on Saturday last, and both a photograph and a slide will be forwarded to you to-day at the address given. The photograph shows all of the surveying instruments of Washington that are in the possession of this Department. You may keep the photograph, but I will ask that you return the slide when you are through with it.

I enclose herewith copy of a pen-written statement which is pasted on the inside of the lid of the box containing some of the instruments. Also, I inclose copy of extracts taken from the 56th annual report of the State Library for the year 1873, concerning these relics.

There will be no charge to you in connection with the photographing of these instruments. There had never been any pictures taken of them and it was difficult to see our way to doing the work just now; but we are glad to have the negatives in the collection of our Visual Instruction Division.

Very sincerely yours,

A. S. DRAPER,
Commissioner of Education.

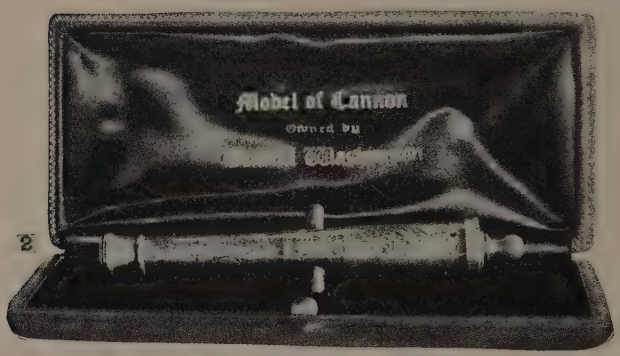
Give due credit to the New York State Education Dept.

A. S. D.

Washington's surveying instruments.

Courtesy of Colonel W. Lanier Washington.

1



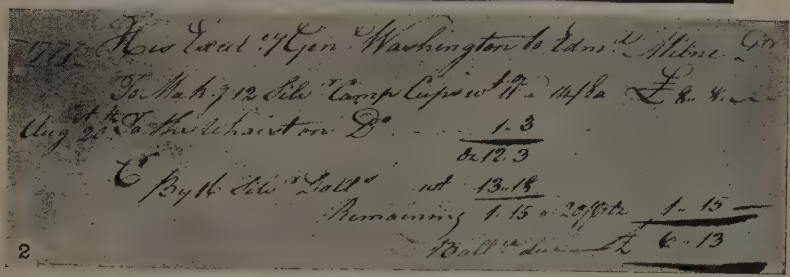
2

3

1.-2. These desk ornaments and other valued memorials were furnished through courtesy of W. Lanier Washington.

3. Steel sword buckle worn by Washington through the Revolution.

B. Washington	One gold watch	360.00
W. A. Washington	One gold chain and seal	66.00
Mr. Law	One seal with ivory handle	10.00
Mr. Hammond	Box shaving soap	2.00
L. Lewis	Topaz shoe and knee buckles	232.00
Dr. Peyton	Dentist, instruments	23.00



Silver cups used by Washington, and bill for same.
Courtesy of W. Lanier Washington:

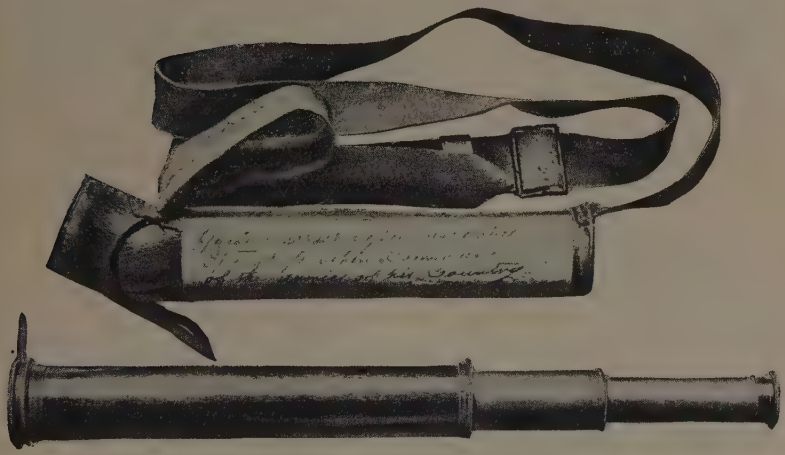
Mr. Hammond	Plates, arms U. S.	6.00
" "	Shoe and knee buckles	31.00
" "	Medal	5.50
		36.50
An. Parks	Pocket compass	7.00
Mr. Law	Case with two pair spectacles	35.00
Mr. Hammond	Case with one pair "	8.00
Mr. Peter	Case with rule	5.00

L. Lewis, Rev.	Order of the Cincinnati	32.00
W. A. Washington	Seal with ivory handle	8.00
N. Fitzhugh	One pocket compass	7.00
W. Robinson	One " "	20.00
Mr. Law	One gold medal	35.00

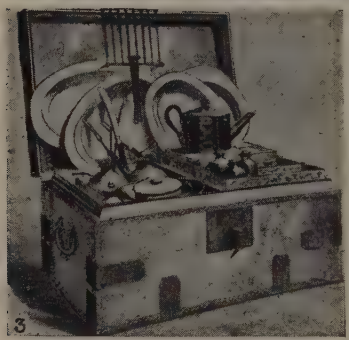
Washington memorials.

A. Parks	A gold box	235.00
L. Washington	One sun glass	7.00
Mr. Hammond	A gold medal	34.00
How. Lewis	Silver medal	25.00
Dr. Peyton	Medal	8.00
Mr. Carter	Two medals	10.00
G. Washington	Gold do. of Gen. Washington	330.00

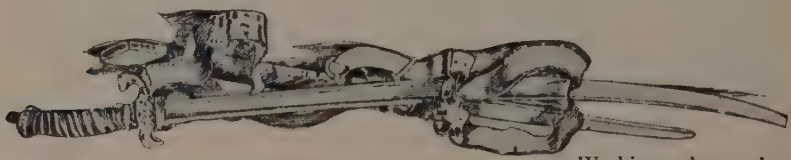
Washington's watch. *Courtesy of W. Lanier Washington.*



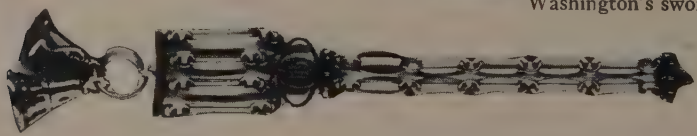
Washington's field glass, used during the Revolution.



1. Washington's chair and secretary.
2. Washington's pistols.
3. Washington's camp chest.
4. Washington's silver service.



Washington's sword.



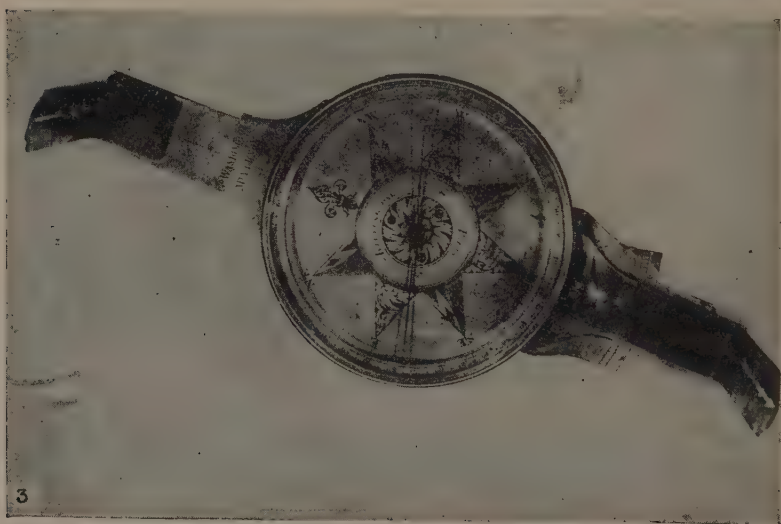
Washington's watch chain.

Courtesy of New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.

Dr. Peyton	One pair of spectacles	18.00
Rev. Lewis	Two sun glasses	2.00
S. Washington	Box of instruments	20.00
Rev. Lewis	Box of silver medals	141.00
B. Ashton	Pocketbook	36.00
H. Lewis	One sash	20.00
B. Ashton	One Freemason's Apron	5.00
Mr. Hammond	One ditto	6.00
Rev. Lewis	Black shoe buckles	.50
Mr. Carter	Sword blade to be charged to T. Peter	2.00
Geo. Lewis	Paper mould	2.50
G. Washington	Model of brass cannon	25.00
Mr. Law	Pair boots	4.00
L. Lewis	Ditto	1.00

Farther sales were as follows:

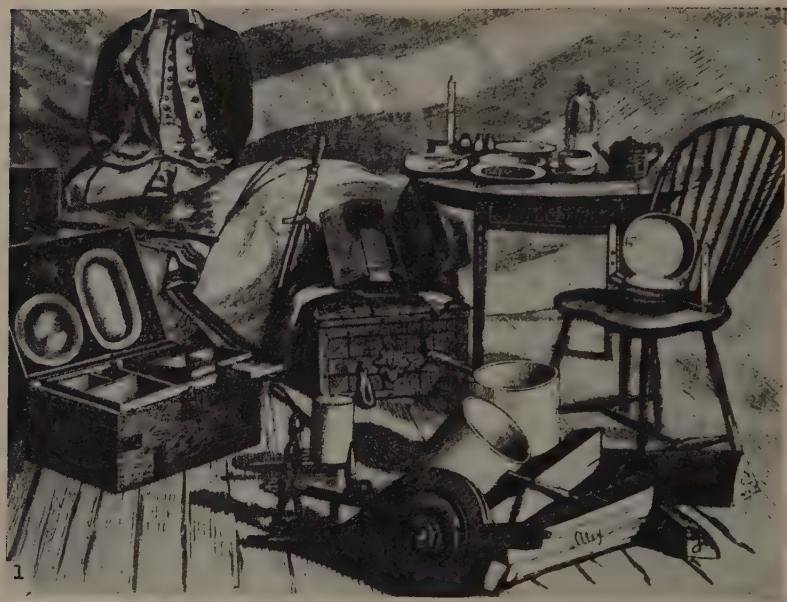
B. Washington			$2,862.60
J. Stitt			151.00
A. Spotswood			368.00
H. Lewis			135.75
L. Lewis			445.75
G. W. P. Custis			1,167.85
R. Lewis			45.00
W. A. Washington			141.00
W. Robinson			324.00
Col. T. Lee			115.00
William A. Washington			90.00
S. Washington			402.00
Tom Peter			39.50
S. Carter			250.00
Lewis & Carter			1,095.00
T. Javins			82.00
T. Coffer			20.00
Dr. Smith			210.00
T. Diggs			2.50
G. Washington	$60.00	S. Washington $205.00	265.00
Dr. Stuart			15.25
E. Lee			7.00
Lawrence Lewis			91.25
Mr. Haltinley			.30
			$8,316.75



1. Washington's waistcoat. 2. Martha Washington's purse.
3. Washington's compass.
Courtesy of W. Lanier Washington.

1–2–3. Mourning jewelry.
4–5. Washington's seal.
6. Bier on which Washington's body was carried to the tomb.
7. Washington's watch.

Courtesy W. Lanier Washington.



1. Washington memorials shown at the Philadelphia Centennial, 1876.
2. The Washington type of coach.

It was while viewing the above memorials fifty years ago that the author conceived the idea of writing the life of our First President.

WILLIAMSBURG: Printed by WILLIAM RIND, the NEW PRINTING OFFICE, on the Main St. All Persons may be supplied with this GAZETTE at 7 per Year. ADVERTISEMENTS of a moderate Length are inserted for 3s. the first Week, and 2s. each Time after and long ones in Proportion.

To be SOLD, RENTED, EXCHANGED, *for back lands in any of the northern counties in this colony,*

A TRACT of six hundred acres, including about two hundred of cleared land, lying on the north side of *Rappahannock* river, opposite to the lower end of *Fredericksburg*. On this tract (a little above the road) is one of the most agreeable situations for a house that is to be found on the whole river, having a clear and distinct view of almost every house in the said town, and every vessel that passes to and from it. Long credit, if desired, will be given, the purchaser paying interest from the sale, and an indisputable title will be made. For further particulars enquire of Col. *Lewis* in *Fredericksburg*, or the subscriber in *Fairfax*.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

FOR SALE

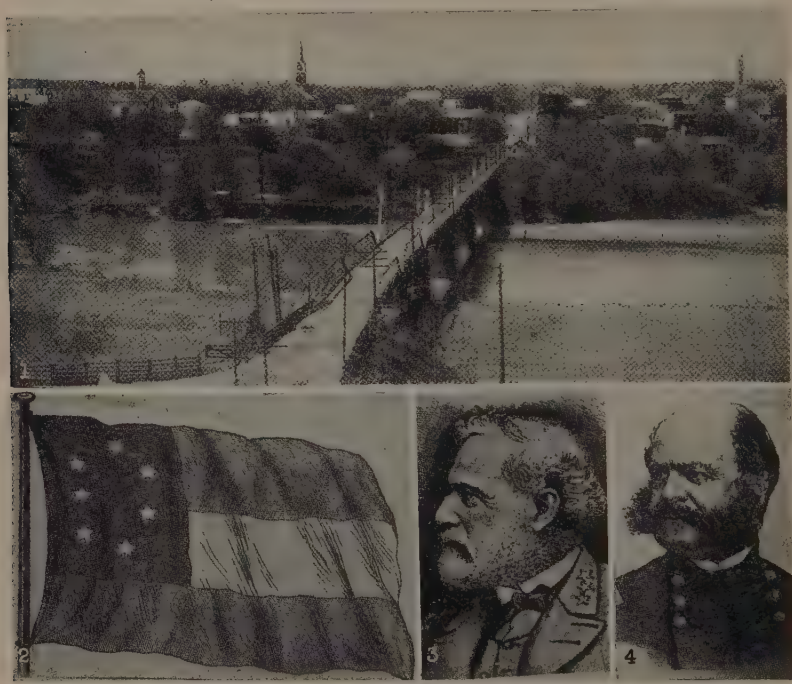
This facsimile excerpt from the Virginia Gazette, published at Richmond under date of October, 1773, shows Washington's business acumen in disposing of real estate. *Courtesy of Chester B. Goolrick.*

Additional Note. Fredericksburg and the Ferry Farm in the War of the States

The present buildings on the Washington (Ferry) Farm at Stafford Heights, bordering the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg, are situated among the trees on the highland, as were the old farm buildings in Washington's day. On these heights are the breastworks where—on the Washington farm land—the Federals planted some of their artillery and on December 13, 1862, shelled the town of Fredericksburg. One hundred and eighty cannon in all, some carrying seventy-pound projectiles, were strung along those heights. Here the Northern troops made

their stand; and, obeying orders, crossed the river on pontoons to attack the Confederate stronghold on Marye Heights, meeting defeat, with unprecedented slaughter.

The opening gun in the bombardment of Fredericksburg was fired from the lawn of Miss Fannie Scott's home, just north of the



1. View of Fredericksburg from Stafford Heights.
2. First Confederate flag, stars and bars.
3. General Robert E. Lee, December 13, 1862.
4. General A. E. Burnside, December 13, 1862.

pontoon bridge. The house is still standing. General Burnside was in command, and—unfortunately for those who lost their lives in the siege—was the one man in that army who believed that the impregnable Fredericksburg Heights could be taken. Miss Scott was well known in Fredericksburg, and has described frequently to friends of the author how her lawn was covered at

the time of the battle with receptacles for the liquid that cheers but often inebriates.

From the road on the first ridge in Fredericksburg, running parallel with the Rappahannock, a steep incline leads to the river bank, where a low marble post, a foot or so square, designates the landing place of the Northerners when they had crossed the river. Northern veterans who participated in that battle have

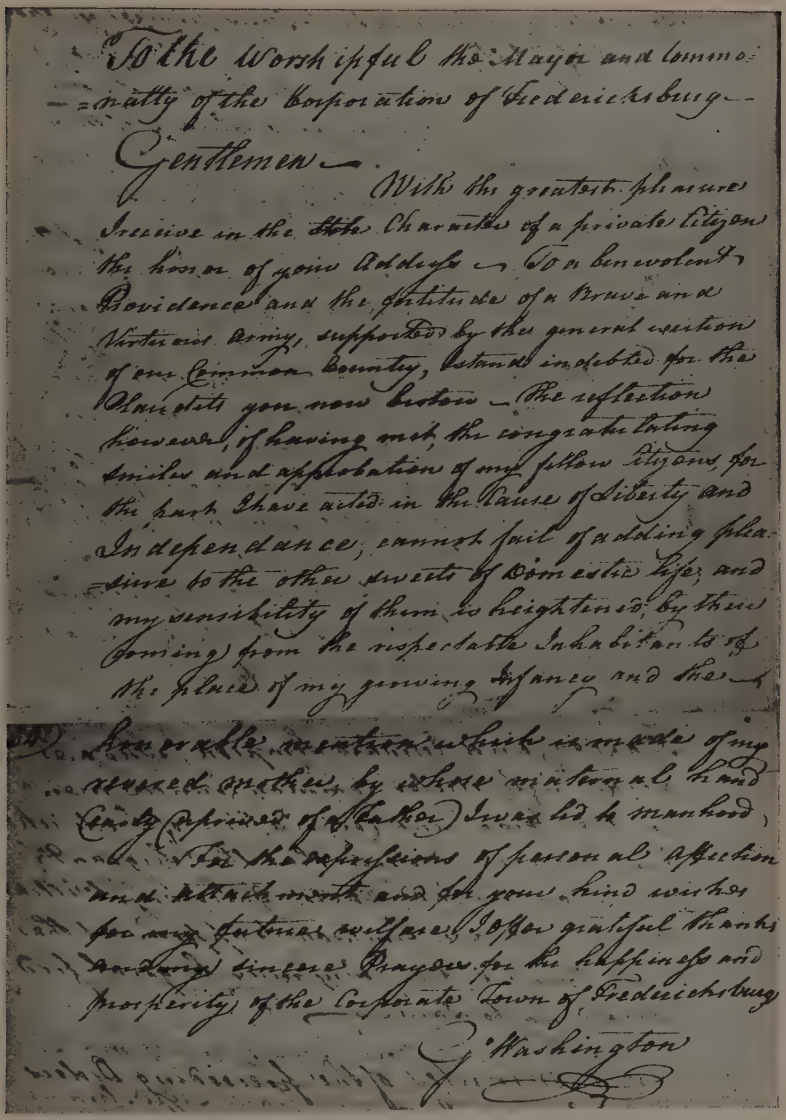
1. General Joseph Hooker.
2. General O. O. Howard.
3. Bombardment of Fredericksburg.
4. Brompton House, Marye Heights.
5. The Sunken Road.
6. General W. S. Hancock.
7. General Sumner.

assured the author that Burnside's army would have been captured or wiped out had the Confederates on the Heights followed up their advantage to the Rappahannock shore.

Standing in the Sunken Road at Fredericksburg, where Washington, when he attended the Marye school in the town, often played and set his woodchuck traps, the author recalled that war poem of school days, "Fredericksburg," as he gazed on the stone wall whence came the storm of flame and lead that sent thousands from his old home State to their deaths. In these

days of persistent striving for peace and unity, let North and South write across that black page of history—"Finished and Forgiven."

The Sunken Road, Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.



To the Worshipful the Mayor and Commonalty of the Corporation of Fredericksburg —

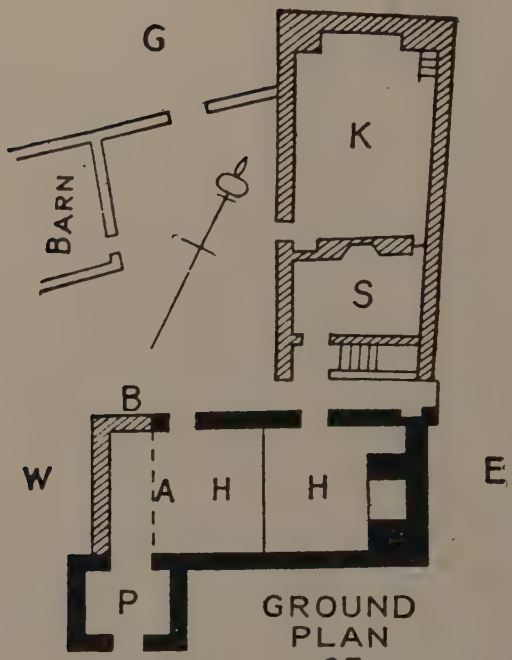
Gentlemen —

With the greatest pleasure I receive in the ~~title~~ Character of a private Citizen the honor of your Address — To a benevolent Providence and the fortitude of a brave and Virtuous Army, supported by the general exertion of our Common Country, I stand indebted for the Blessings you now behold — The reflection however, of having met the congratulating smiles and approbation of my fellow Citizens, for the part I have acted in the Cause of Liberty and Independence, cannot fail of adding pleasure to the other sweets of Domestic Life, and my sensibility of them is heightened by their coming from the respectable Inhabitants of the place of my growing Infancy and the

[illegible] mention which is made of my revered mother, by whose maternal hand (early deprived of a Father) I was led to manhood, — for the refinements of personal affection and attachment and for your kind wishes for my future welfare I offer grateful thanks and sincere Prayers for the happiness and prosperity of the Corporate Town of Fredericksburg

G. Washington

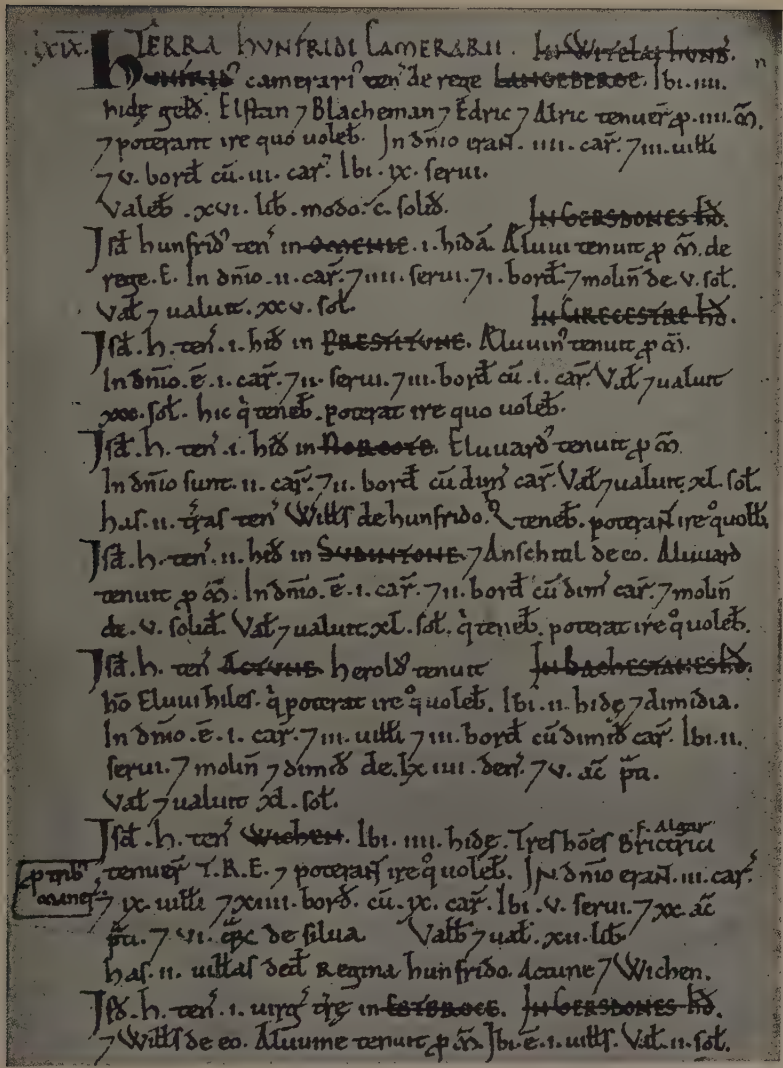
This facsimile of Washington's speech to the citizens of Fredericksburg at the close of the American Revolution contains two important statements, referring as it does to Fredericksburg as "the home of my growing infancy, and mentioning his revered mother "by whose maternal hand I was raised to manhood."



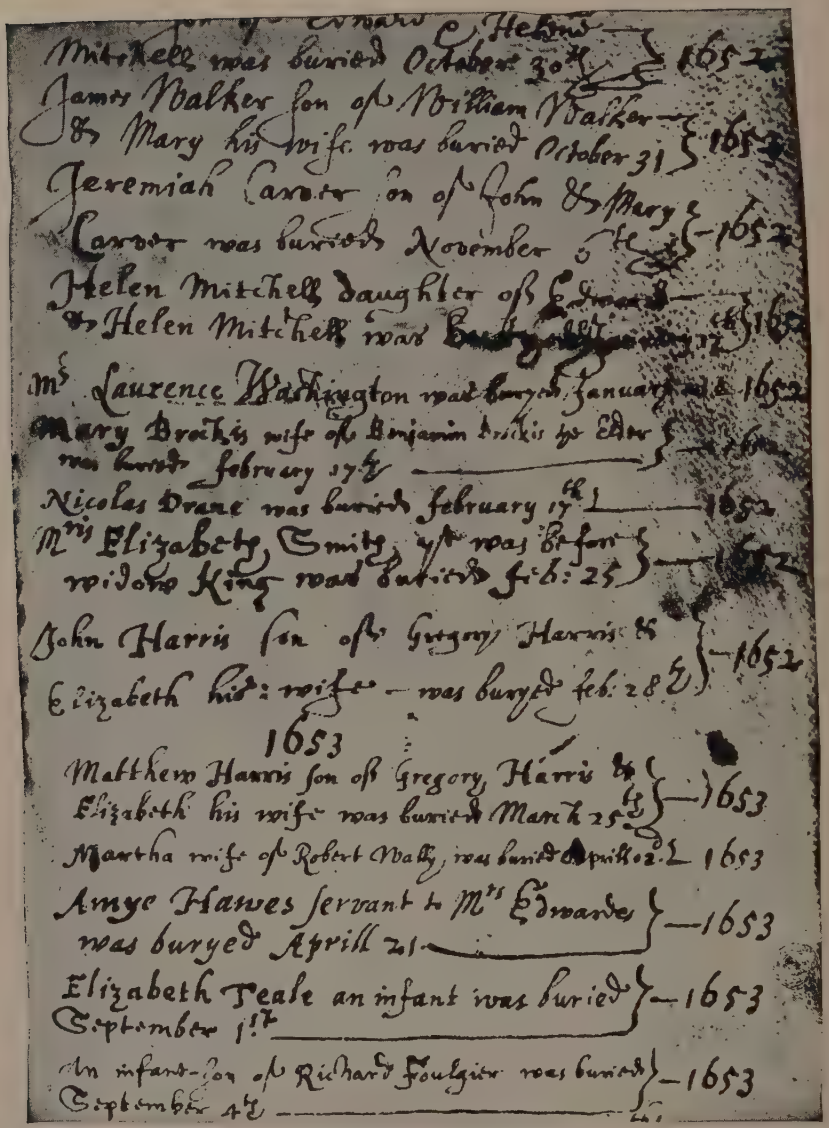
GROUND PLAN OF SULGRAVE MANOR HOUSE.

A—Screens.
B—Original Back Door.
E - Site of former East Wing.
W—Site of former West Wing.
G—Site of former Gate House.
H - Hall.
K - Kitchen.
P—Porch.
S—Sitting Room.

Courtesy of T. Pape, B.A., of Newcastle Staffs



Facsimile of a page in the Domesday Book, made by command of William the Conqueror 1086, A.D. No doubt the Wessyngtons (Washingtons) had a line in this early English record. Sulgrave is herein mentioned.



Mitchell was buried October 30th — 1652
James Walker son of William Walker & Mary his wife was buried October 31 — 1652
Jeremiah Carver son of John & Mary Carver was buried November 6th — 1652
Helen Mitchell daughter of Edward & Helen Mitchell was buried [illegible] 12th — 1652
Mr Laurence Washington was buryed January 21 — 1652
Mary Brickis wife of Benjamin Brickis the Elder was buried February 17th — 1652
Nicolas Drane was buried February 17th — 1652
Mrs Elizabeth Smith, ye was before widowe King was buried Feb: 25 — 1652
John Harris son of Gregory Harris & Elizabeth his wife was buryed feb: 28th — 1652

1653

Matthew Harris son of Gregory Harris & Elizabeth his wife was buried March 25th — 1653
Martha wife of Robert Walty was buried Aprill 2 — 1653
Amye Hawes servant to Mrs Edwardes was buryed Aprill 21 — 1653
Elizabeth Teale an infant was buried September 1st — 1653
An infant son of Richard Foulgier was buried September 4th — 1653

Leaf from the burial record of All Saints Church, Maldon, England, showing a Lawrence Washington's burial on January 21, 1652. *Courtesy of Vicar Seymour of Maldon.*

Today's Version of Washington's English Ancestry

(For the Old Version see Volume I, pages 4 to 39.)

The recent opinion of some researchers into Washington's English ancestry is that this facsimile of the Maldon Church register, kindly furnished to the author by Vicar Seymour of Maldon, England, proves that the Lawrence Washington therein recorded as interred January 21, 1652, was the Rector of Purleigh (not "Vicar"), great-great-grandfather of George Washington, and that previous information, placing the Washingtons at Little Brington, in the home known for years as the Washington House, is incorrect.

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B WASHIN, G.
Sawyer, Joseph Dillaway,
b. 1849.
Washington,

gton

17673
Jan17'28
3436
Jan21'32
12125
May7 32
Jun6'32
17301
Mar10'28
45
Aug26'33
15349
Mar30'28
11023
24883
Mar1930
19918
9Mar'34
30982
3Mar'37
Oct8'31
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Feb11'32
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Apr6 32

Sawyer